

Cornell University Library

Ithaca, New York

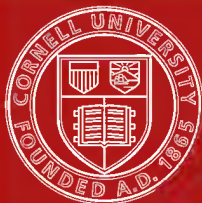
FROM

Miss Anne McCormick.....

CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



3 1924 087 994 137



Cornell University
Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

LIVES
OF THE
QUEENS OF ENGLAND

VICTORIA EDITION

OF WHICH ONLY

ONE THOUSAND COMPLETE COPIES ARE PRINTED

FOR SALE

COPY NUMBER 620

Inn of Love



Queen Anne of Cleves

After the Crayon Drawing by Holbein

LIVES OF THE
QUEENS OF ENGLAND

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL RECORDS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC
DOCUMENTS, PRIVATE AS WELL AS PUBLIC, BY

Agnes Strickland

PRECEDED BY A BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION BY

John Foster Kirk

IN SIXTEEN VOLUMES, WITH PLATES

VOLUME V

Philadelphia

PRINTED FOR SUBSCRIBERS ONLY BY
GEORGE BARRIE & SONS

A 5335 1

COPYRIGHT, 1902, BY GEORGE BARRIE & SON

Contents

VOLUME V

	PAGE
JANE SEYMOUR, Third Queen of Henry VIII.	1
ANNE OF CLEVES, Fourth Queen of Henry VIII.	32
KATHARINE HOWARD, Fifth Queen of Henry VIII.	101
KATHARINE PARR, Sixth Queen of Henry VIII.	178

LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND.

JANE SEYMOUR, THIRD QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

Conduct of Jane Seymour—Age—Descent—Early life—Maid of honor—Courté by Henry VIII.—Execution of Anne Boleyn—Arrival of Henry at Wolf hall the same evening—Jane Seymour marries him next day—Reasons for haste—Wedding-dinner—Beauty of the bride—Royal wedding kept at Marwell—King and queen return to London—Crown settled on her offspring—Coverdale's Bible—She reconciles the king and the princess Mary—Crosses the frozen Thames—Her coronation discussed—Deferred—King's letter—Queen takes to her chamber at Hampton Court—Her portraits—Extreme danger—King's conduct—Queen's self-devotion—Birth of Edward VI.—Baptism—Improper treatment of the queen—Her illness—Catholic rites—Queen's death—Her funeral—Epitaph—Mourning worn by king Henry—His grief—Description of the infant prince—Journal of Edward VI.—Court mournings—Project for the queen's tomb—Discovery of her coffin by George IV.

“JANE SEYMOUR was the fairest, the discreetest, and the most meritorious of all Henry VIII.'s wives.” This assertion has been generally repeated by all historians to the present hour, yet, doubtless, the question has frequently occurred to their readers, in what did her merit consist? Customs may vary at various eras, but the laws of moral justice are unalterable: difficult would it be to reconcile them with the first actions known of this discreet lady, for discretion is the attribute the biographer of Henry VIII., lord Herbert, peculiarly challenges as her own. It has been shown in the preceding biography that Jane Seymour's shameless

conduct in receiving the courtship of Henry VIII. was the commencement of the severe calamities that befell her mistress, Anne Boleyn. Scripture points out as an especial odium the circumstance of a handmaid taking the place of her mistress. Odious enough was the case when Anne Boleyn supplanted the right royal Katharine of Arragon, but a sickening sensation of horror must pervade every right-feeling mind when the proceedings of the discreet Jane Seymour are considered. She received the addresses of her mistress's husband, knowing him to be such; she passively beheld the mortal anguish of Anne Boleyn when that unhappy queen was in a state which peculiarly demanded feminine sympathy; she knew that the discovery of Henry's inconstancy had nearly destroyed her, whilst the shock actually destroyed her infant; she saw a series of murderous accusations got up against the queen, which finally brought her to the scaffold, yet she gave her hand to the regal ruffian before his wife's corpse was cold. Yes; four-and-twenty hours had not elapsed since the sword was reddened with the blood of her mistress when Jane Seymour became the bride of Henry VIII. And let it be remembered that a royal marriage could not have been celebrated without previous preparation, which must have proceeded simultaneously with the heart-rending events of Anne Boleyn's last agonized hours. The wedding-cakes must have been baking, the wedding-dinner providing, the wedding-clothes preparing, while the life-blood was yet running warm in the veins of the victim, whose place was to be rendered vacant by a violent death. The picture is repulsive enough, but it becomes tenfold more abhorrent when the woman who caused the whole tragedy is loaded with panegyric.

Jane Seymour had arrived at an age when the timidity of girlhood could no longer be pleaded as excuse for passive acquiescence in such outrages on common decency. All genealogies¹ concur in naming her as the eldest of sir John Seymour's numerous family. As such, she could not have been younger than Anne Boleyn, who was much older than

¹ Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 167.

is generally asserted. Jane was the eldest of the eight children of sir John Seymour, of Wolf hall, Wiltshire, and Margaret Wentworth, daughter of sir John Wentworth, of Nettlestead in Suffolk. The Seymours were a family of country gentry who, like most holders of manorial rights, traced their ancestry to a Norman origin. One or two had been knighted in the wars of France, but their names had never emerged from the herald's visitation-rolls into historical celebrity. They increased their boundaries by fortunate alliances with heiresses; but, till the head of the family married into a collateral branch of the lordly line of Beauchamp, they scarcely took rank as second-rate gentry. After that event, two instances are quoted of Seymours serving as high-sheriff for Wilts, but no instance can be found of one of the name being returned as knight of the shire. Through Margaret Wentworth, the mother of Jane Seymour, a descent from the blood-royal of England was claimed from an intermarriage with a Wentworth and a daughter of Hotspur and lady Elizabeth Mortimer, granddaughter to Lionel duke of Clarence. Some ancient heralds affirm that this daughter of the house of Percy died childless. Few persons, however, dared dispute a pedigree with Henry VIII.; and it appears that on this ground Cranmer granted a dispensation for nearness of kin between Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour,—rather a work of supererogation, since, even if the Wentworth genealogy held good, the parties could not be related within the forbidden degree,—viz., as fourth cousins. Although the royal kindred appears somewhat doubtful, yet it is undeniable that the sovereign of England gained by this alliance one brother-in-law who bore the name of Smith, and another whose grandfather was a blacksmith at Putney,—for Jane Seymour's sister Elizabeth married Gregory the son of Cromwell, and her sister Dorothy became the wife of sir Clement Smith, of Little Baddow, in Essex.¹

¹ Collins's Peerage. Elizabeth Seymour was the widow of sir Gregory Oughtred when she married the younger Cromwell. Jane Seymour, like Anne Boleyn, was old enough for her younger sister to have been married before she herself became queen.

Jane's childhood and early youth are involved in great obscurity, but there is reason to suppose that, like Anne Boleyn, her education was finished and her manners formed at the court of France. Her portrait in the Louvre as a French maid of honor has given rise to this idea. It is probable that she entered the service of Mary Tudor, which her brother certainly did; for in a list of the persons forming the bridal retinue of that queen, signed by the hand of Louis XII.,¹ may be observed, among the children or pages of honor, the son of M. Seymour. This must have been Jane's brother Edward, afterwards so celebrated as the Protector Somerset. He was younger, however, than Jane, and it is very possible that she had an appointment also, though not of such importance as Anne Boleyn, who was grand-daughter to the duke of Norfolk, and was associated with two of the sovereign's kinswomen, the ladies Gray, as maids of honor to Mary queen of France. Jane could boast of no such high connections as these, and, perhaps from her comparatively inferior birth, did not excite the jealousy of the French monarch like the ladies of maturer years. It is possible that Jane Seymour was promoted to the post of maid of honor in France after the dismissal of the other ladies. Her portrait in the Louvre² represents her as a beautifully full-formed woman, of nineteen or twenty, and seems an evidence that, like Anne, she had obtained a place subsequently in the household of queen Claude, where she perfected herself in the art of coquetry, though in a more demure way than her unfortunate compeer, Anne Boleyn. It was sir John Seymour³ who first made interest for his daughter to be placed as a maid of honor to Anne Boleyn.

¹ This document is preserved among the Cotton. MSS.

² It is a whole-length, and one of Holbein's masterpieces. The face and dress resemble minutely the younger portraits of Jane Seymour in England. It is merely entitled "Maid of honor to Marie d'Angleterre, queen of Louis XII.," and is placed as companion to another, a magnificent whole-length of Anne Boleyn, likewise entitled "Maid of honor to the queen of Louis XII." These two well-known portraits are clad in the same costume, though varied in ornaments and color; they are not recognized in France as pictures of *English queens*, but as *compagnons suivantes* of an English princess, queen of France.

³ Heylin. Fuller's English Worthies, 848.

Anne Stanhope, afterwards the wife of his eldest son, Edward Seymour, was Jane's associate.

Henry's growing passion for Jane soon awakened suspicion in the mind of queen Anne; it is said that her attention was one day attracted by a jewel which Jane Seymour wore about her neck, and she expressed a wish to look at it. Jane faltered and drew back, and the queen, noticing her hesitation, snatched it violently from her, so violently that she hurt her own hand,¹ and found that it contained the portrait of the king, which, as she most truly guessed, had been presented by himself to her fair rival. Jane Seymour had far advanced in the same serpentine path which conducted Anne herself to a throne, ere she ventured to accept the picture of her enamoured sovereign, and well assured must she have been of success in her ambitious views before she presumed to wear such a love token in the presence of the queen. Anne Boleyn was not of a temper to bear her wrongs patiently, but Jane Seymour's star was in the ascendant, hers in the decline: her anger was unavailing. Jane maintained her ground triumphantly, even after the disgraceful *dénouement* which has been related in the biography of Anne Boleyn. One of the king's love-letters to his new favorite seems to have been written while the fallen queen was waiting her doom in prison.

"HENRY VIII. TO JANE SEYMOUR."²

"MY DEAR FRIEND AND MISTRESS:—

"The hearer of these few lines from thy entirely devoted servant will deliver into thy fair hands a token of my true affection for thee, hoping you will keep it forever in your sincere love for me. Advertising you that there is a ballad made lately of great derision against us, which if it go abroad and is seen by you, I pray you to pay no manner of regard to it. I am not at present informed who is the setter forth of this malignant writing; but if he is found out, he shall be straitly punished for it.

"For the things ye lacked, I have minded my lord to supply them to you as soon as he could buy them. Thus hoping shortly to receive you in these arms, I end for the present,

Your own loving servant and sovereign,
"H. R."

¹ Heylin. Fuller's English Worthies, 848.

² Published by Halliwell, in Letters of the Kings of England, vol. i. p. 353, being his modernized transcript from the Gough MSS. There is no authority as to the depository of the original, but it is in Henry VIII.'s style.—See his letters to Anne Boleyn.

While the last act of that diabolical drama was played out which consummated the destruction of poor Anne, it appears that her rival had the discretion to retreat to her paternal mansion, Wolf hall, in Wiltshire. There the preparations for her marriage with Henry VIII. were proceeding with sufficient activity to allow her royal wedlock to take place the day after the executioner had rendered the king a widower. Henry himself remained in the vicinity of the metropolis, awaiting the accomplishment of that event. The traditions of Richmond park and Epping forest quote each place as the *locale* where he waited for the announcement of his wife's death. Richmond park has decidedly the best claim, for the spot pointed out is a promontory of the highest portion of the cliff or ridge commanding the valley of the Thames, called Richmond hill. About a quarter of a mile to the left of the town an extensive view to the west reposes under the eye. The remains of the oak beneath which Henry VIII. stood are now enclosed in the grounds at present occupied by lord John Russell, therefore we were prevented from personally examining this historical spot. Yet its geographical features could be ascertained, and they prove that Henry was a full hour nearer Wiltshire than if he had started from the hunting-tower at Pleshet, near 'East Ham.¹ On the morning of the 19th of May, Henry VIII., attired for the chase, with his huntsmen and hounds around him, was standing under the spreading oak, breathlessly awaiting the signal-gun from the Tower which was to announce that the sword had fallen on the neck of his once "entirely beloved Anne Boleyn." At last, when the bright summer sun rode high towards its meridian, the sullen sound of the death-gun boomed along the windings of the Thames. Henry started with ferocious joy. "Ha, ha!" he cried with satisfaction, "the deed is done. Uncouple the hounds and away!" The chase that day bent towards the west, whether the stag led it in that direction or not. The tradition of Richmond adds, that the king was

¹ The chief objection to this story is, that, robust as Henry then was, it would have been scarcely possible for him to have reached Wiltshire on the 19th of May, if he commenced his journey in the afternoon from Epping forest.

likewise advised of the execution by a signal from a flag hoisted on the spire of old St. Paul's, which was seen through a glade of the park to the east.¹

At nightfall the king was at Wolf hall, in Wilts, telling the news to his elected bride; the next morning he married her. It is commonly asserted that the king wore white for mourning the day after Anne Boleyn's execution; he certainly wore white, not as mourning, but because he on that day wedded her rival. Wolf hall,² the scene of these royal nuptials, was a short distance from Tottenham park, in Wiltshire. Of the ancient residence some remains now exist, among which is the kitchen, where tradition declares a notable royal wedding-dinner was cooked: a detached building is likewise still entire, in which the said dinner was served up, the room being hung, on this occasion, with tapestry.³ As late as the time of Defoe the same building, which he calls "the large barn at Wolf hall," in which the nuptial-feast of Henry VIII. and queen Jane Seymour was served, had tenter-hooks, on which small bits of tapestry were hanging. "The people of the neighborhood showed these tatters as proof of the honorable use to which the barn had been put. Between Wolf hall and Tottenham was a noble avenue bordered with lofty trees, in which the royal bride and bridegroom walked; it was in the seventeenth century known by the name of 'king Harry's walk.'"⁴

Several favorite members of the king's obsequious privy council were present at the marriage, therefore the authenticity of its date is beyond all dispute. Among others was sir John Russell (afterwards earl of Bedford), who, "having been at church⁵ with the royal pair," gave as his opinion, "That the king was the goodliest person there, and that the richer queen Jane was dressed the fairer she appeared; on

¹ The dome of St. Paul's may be seen from the same spot.

² It was the inheritance of sir John Seymour from his grandmother, the heiress of Esturmy. Previous to this lucky marriage, the family of St. Maur (Seymour) were settled in Monmouthshire, at Woundy: they were some of the marchmen who kept the Welsh in bounds.

³ Britton's Wiltshire, p. 685.

⁴ Defoe's Tour through Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 43.

⁵ Probably Tottenham church.

the contrary, the better Anne Boleyn was apparelled the worse she looked ; but that queen Jane was the fairest of all Henry's wives, though both Anne Boleyn, and queen Katharine in her younger days, were women not easily paralleled."¹ The bridal party proceeded after dinner to Marwell, near Winchester, a country-seat belonging to the bishops of that see, which Henry had already wrested from the church and bestowed on the Seymours. The queen's chamber is still shown there.² From Marwell the king and his bride went to Winchester, where they sojourned a few days, and from thence returned to London, in time to hold a great court on the 29th of May. Here the bride was publicly introduced as queen, and her marriage festivities were blended with the celebration of Whitsuntide. The king paid the citizens the compliment of bringing his fair queen to Mercer's hall, and she stood in one of the windows to view the annual ceremony of setting the city watch on St. Peter's eve, June 29th.

The lord chancellor Audley, when parliament met a few days after, introduced the subject of the king's new marriage in a speech so tedious in length that the clerks who wrote the parliamentary journals gave up its transcription in despair. Yet they fortunately left extant an abstract, containing a curious condolence on the exquisite sufferings the monarch had endured in matrimony. "Ye well remember," pathetically declaimed chancellor Audley, "the great anxieties and perturbations this invincible sovereign suffered on account of his first unlawful marriage ; so all ought to bear in mind the perils and dangers he was under when he contracted his second marriage, and that the lady Anne and her complices have since been justly found guilty of high treason, and had met their due reward for it. What man of middle life would not this deter from marrying a third time ? Yet this our most excellent prince again condescendeth to contract matrimony, and hath, on the humble petition of the nobility, taken to himself a wife this time whose age and fine form give promise of issue." He said, "that the king had two objects in view in summoning a

¹ Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.*

² Milner.

parliament: to declare the heir-apparent, and to repeal the act in favor of the succession of Anne Boleyn's issue." The crown was afterwards entailed on the children of queen Jane, whether male or female. After expatiating on all the self-sacrifices Henry had endured for the good of his people, he concluded by proposing "that the lords should pray for heirs to the crown by this marriage," and sent the commons to choose a speaker. The speaker they chose was the notorious Richard Rich, who had sworn away the life of sir Thomas More; he outdid the chancellor Audley in his fulsome praises of the king, thinking proper to load his speech with personal flattery, "comparing him, for strength and fortitude to Samson, for justice and prudence to Solomon, and for beauty and comeliness to Absalom." Thus did the English senate condescend to encourage Henry in his vices, calling his self-indulgence self-denial, and all his evil good; inflating his wicked wilfulness with eulogy, till he actually forgot, according to Wolsey's solemn warning, "that there was both heaven and hell." While the biographer is appalled as the domestic features of this moral monster are unveiled, surely some abhorrence is due to the unison of atrocity that met in the hearts and heads of his advisers and flatterers.

As the parliamentary journals have been destroyed which include the attainder of Anne Boleyn, it is impossible to trace when the petition for the king to marry again was presented which the chancellor alludes to; if before his marriage to Jane, it must have been during the life of Anne Boleyn, and then must have infused another drop of inexpressible bitterness in the cup of misery at the lips of the living victim. It is worthy of notice, that the dispensation by Cranmer of kindred and all other impediments in the marriage of the king and Jane Seymour is dated on the very day of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn's death, being May 19, 1536. The abhorrent conduct of Henry in wedding Jane so soon after the sacrifice of her hapless predecessor has left its foul traces on a page where truly Christian reformers must have viewed it with grief and disgust. In the dedication of Coverdale's Bible, printed at Zurich, 1535,

the names of Henry and his queen are introduced; but as Anne Boleyn was destroyed between the printing and publication, an attempt was made to accommodate the dedication to the caprice of Henry's passions, by printing J, for Jane, over the letters which composed the name of the unfortunate Anne.¹

Bitter complaints were made that the new queen, in all possible ways, strove to depress the connections of her fallen mistress and to exalt her own.² Of course the power of so doing was the chief inducement for her marriage, with all its abhorrent circumstances. Her brother, uncles, sisters, and cousins promptly filled every great and lucrative office at court, imitating closely the unpopular precedent of the kin of Elizabeth Woodville.

Queen Jane ostensibly mediated the reconciliation between the princess Mary and the king. In the correspondence which ensued between the father and daughter, about twenty days after the marriage of Jane Seymour, she is frequently mentioned by the princess as "her most natural mother the queen:" she congratulates her on her marriage with the king, praying God to send them a prince. These letters were chiefly dictated by Thomas Cromwell, whose son afterwards married a sister of the new queen, yet Mary certainly regarded Jane Seymour as her friend. Nevertheless, the terms were so cruel on which Mary was restored to her father's presence, that her majesty had not ventured very far in her intercession between them. From one of Mary's earlier letters, it is evident that the princess had known Jane Seymour previously to her marriage, and had been treated kindly by her.³ The Catholic historians have mentioned queen Jane with complacency, on account of her friendliness to Henry's ill-treated daughter; the Protestants regard her with veneration as the mother of Edward VI. and the sister of Somerset; and thus, with little personal merit, accident has made her the subject of unlimited party praise. Her kindness to Mary bears an appearance of moral worth, if the suspicion did not occur

¹ State-Papers, vol. i. p. 561.

² Heylin.

³ See Hearne's Sylloge, where this fact is distinctly stated.

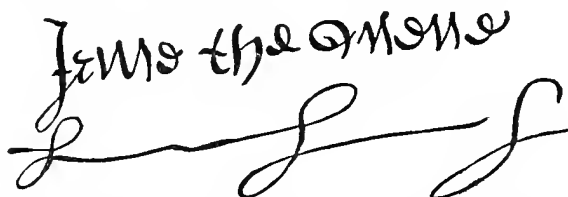
that it arose entirely from opposition to Anne Boleyn ; for, if based on the pure foundation of benevolence, it is strange that no other fruit of a virtuous character was exemplified in the life of Jane Seymour. The princess Mary was permitted to visit her step-mother at the palaces of Richmond and Greenwich, Christmas, 1537. That season was saddened to queen Jane by the loss of her father, sir John Seymour. He died in his sixtieth year, December 21, 1536,¹ leaving his family at the very pinnacle of exaltation,—his eldest daughter the triumphant queen of England ; his eldest son created lord Beauchamp, and lord chamberlain for life. The queen's aunt, Joanna Seymour,² was the wife of Andrew Huddleston ; their son Andrew obtained a command in Henry VIII.'s guards, called gentlemen-at-arms, and riches, favor, and honor were showered profusely on every member of the house of Seymour.

Jane Seymour supported her unwonted burden of dignity as queen with silent placidity. Whether from instinctive prudence or natural taciturnity, she certainly exemplified the wise proverb, " that the least said is the soonest mended ;" for she passed eighteen months of regal life without uttering a sentence significant enough to bear preservation. Thus she avoided making enemies by sallies of wit and repartee, in which her incautious predecessor so often indulged : indeed, it was generally considered that queen Jane purposely steered her course of royalty so that her manners appeared diametrically opposite to those of queen Anne. As for her actions, they were utterly passive, and dependent on the will of the king. The only act of Jane Seymour's queenly life of which a documentary record has been preserved, is an order to the park-keeper at Havering-atte-Bower " to deliver to her well-beloved the gentlemen of her sovereign lord the king's chapel-royal, two bucks of high season." For this very trifling exercise of the power and privileges of a queen of England she names the king's warrant and seal as her authority, as if her own were insufficient. The order is headed by her signature, and is supposed

¹ Collins's Peerage.

² Burns's Cumberland.

to be the only genuine autograph of Jane Seymour in existence. We give the fac-simile.¹



The terror of the axe seems to have kept even this favored queen in the most humiliating state of submission during the brief term of her sceptred slavery. In consonance with this assumption of submission, which was in all things to prove a contrast to her predecessor, Jane Seymour took for her motto, BOUND TO OBEY AND SERVE. One of her gold standing-cups, set with diamonds and pearls, remained among the plate of Charles I.; it is described as ornamented with an H and I knit together, and Jane Seymour's arms supported by two boys.²

Some traces of her sojourn in the Tower are to be found in a list of Henry VIII.'s furniture, for among the appurtenances of a room called the 'lower study,' is enumerated "a box containing a writing touching the jointure of queen Jane;" likewise "a pair of little screens made of silk, to hold against the fire." Who could have supposed that the grim fortress ever contained anything so consonant to modern taste as a pair of hand-screens? But many of the luxuries and elegancies presumed to pertain solely to the modern era are indicated in the wardrobe-lists, inventories, and privy-purse expenses of royal personages who belonged to an earlier period than Jane Seymour and Henry VIII. The most remarkable of this queen's proceedings was, that she crossed the frozen Thames to Greenwich palace, in the severe January of 1536-37, on horseback, with the king, attended by their whole court. In the summer she went

¹ MS. Cottonian, Vespasian, f. iii.

² Lord Orford's works; list of royal plate (185). This curious relic was sold by Charles in his distress.

with him on a progress to Canterbury, and in the monastery of St. Augustine was very honorably received, the reverend father Thomas Goldwell, prior of Christ church, being present.¹ From thence he (the king and queen) went to Dover to see the pier, "to his great cost and charge then begun."

Jane Seymour, like many other persons suddenly raised in the world, laid down very rigorous rules regarding the etiquette of dress at her court. The maids of honor were expected to wear very costly girdles of pearls, and if not very fully set, they were not to appear in her royal presence. The number of pearls required was more than one hundred and twenty, since lady Lisle sent that number to Anne Bassett, one of her daughters, who was maid of honor to the new queen.² But the girdle was not sufficiently rich; the pearls were too few, therefore the young lady could not exhibit it before the queen. As the king's two former wives (though afterwards repudiated and discrowned) had received the honors of splendid coronations, he was of course desirous of thus distinguishing the beloved Jane Seymour. Of this there is full evidence in the despatches of Rich and Paget³ to the rest of the privy council remaining at Westminster. "We found the king," says the latter, "one evening in the queen's chamber, ready to wash and sit down to supper with her; and after supper his grace returned into his chamber, and immediately called me to him, saying that he had digested and resolved in his breast the contents of your last, and perceiving how the plague had reigned in Westminster, and in the abbey itself, he stood in a suspense whether it were best to put off the time of the queen's coronation. 'Wherefore,' quoth he, 'it were good that all my council be assembled here to determine upon everything

¹ Monk's Journal, quoted by Strype, 1537.

² Lisle Papers, edited by M. A. Wood, vol. iii. p. 21. Letters of Royal Ladies, March 15, 1556-57.

³ State-Paper office. It is uncertain whether the king was then at Greenwich palace or Hampton Court. Paget's style is distinguished by frequent "quod he's and quod I's:" his father had been but a mace-bearer to the lord mayor.

touching the same coronation; and so,' quoth he, 'write to my lord privy-seal, and send him word.'"

Jane's coronation, after being thus delayed by the pestilence, was still further procrastinated by her hopeful condition, which promised the long-desired heir to the throne. Henry VIII. announced this expectation to the duke of Norfolk by an autograph letter, in which may be perceived some allusion to the loss of Anne Boleyn's son, owing to the grief of heart the mother's jealousy occasioned. To obviate the chance of his present consort taking any fancies in her head, "considering she was *but* a woman," he graciously announces his intention of remaining near her in these very original words:—"Albeit she is in every condition of that loving inclination and reverend conformity that she can in all things well content, rest, and satisfy herself with anything which we shall think expedient and determine, yet, considering that, being *but a woman*, upon some sudden and displeasing rumors and bruits that might by foolish or light persons be blown abroad in our absence, being specially so far from her she might take to her stomach such impressions as might engender no little danger or displeasure to the infant with which she is now pregnant (which God forbid!), it hath been thought by our council very necessary that, for avoiding such perils, we should not extend our progress farther from her than sixty miles." The place chosen for queen Jane's lying-in was Hampton Court, where it appears, from a letter to Cromwell from the earl of Southampton, that she took to her chamber September 16, 1537, with all the ceremonies appertaining to the retirement of an English queen in her situation.²

The splendid gothic banqueting-hall at Hampton Court was finished at this juncture, for queen Jane's initials are entwined with those of her husband among the decorations. It was an inconvenient whim of Henry VIII., whose love was so evanescent, to knit the initials of whomsoever happened to be the object of his temporary passion in enduring stone-work. The Italian fashion of inlaying popular names

¹ Chapter-house, Bundle $\frac{A^6}{1}$, dated June 12, 1537.

² State-Papers, vol. i. p. 565.

on festal days in mosaics of flowers, called *infiolata*, had been the more convenient compliment, since fading flowers would have been better memorials of his passion for Anne Boleyn than the love-knots of stone at King's college and at Hampton Court. The commemoration of his love for her rival, in the architectural ornaments of the latter, likewise remains a signal monument of the transitory nature of human felicity. At the entrance of the chapel, on each side of the door-way, is a species of colored stone picture, containing Henry's arms and initials on the right, and queen Jane's arms with the interchanged initials I H, and H I, with love-knots intertwined. The motto, arms, and supporters of Jane Seymour as queen are among the archives of Herald's college. Over the shields is inscribed BOWND TO OBEY AND SERVE, in English. Her supporters were, on the right side, a unicorn, with a collar of roses round his neck, alternately a red and a white one. It seems the unicorn was adopted for her as the emblem of chastity. On the left side was a horse ducally collared. Her family shield of the Seymour arms entire, not impaled with the royal arms, emblazoned in a scutcheon of the usual broad form; the crown of England is over the shield, and beneath it written

REGINA JANE.

The original outline sketch of queen Jane by Holbein, preserved in her majesty's collection at Windsor, was probably taken at this time,—a time most unpropitious to the beauty of the sitter; indeed, it is difficult to trace any beauty in the portrait, which represents her as a coarse, apathetic-looking woman, with a large face and small features. Her eyes are blue, with a sinister expression; the mouth very small, also the lips thin, and closely compressed; the eyebrows very faintly marked; high cheek-bones, and a thickness at the point of the nose quite opposed to an artist's idea of beauty. Hans Holbein, however, generally gave a faithful representation of his subjects: in one instance only has he been accused of flattery. Queen Jane wears the same five-cornered hood and plaited cap beneath familiar to us in the portraits of Henry's three first queens.

Her hair appears plainly folded in cross bands. Her dress is unfinished; a square corsage is faintly defined. The sketch is evidently the same from which the whole-length portrait was painted by Holbein, which represents her as queen, standing with Henry VIII., Henry VII., and Elizabeth of York at the four corners of an altar or tomb. Queen Jane is not quite so plain in this picture, but makes a complete contrast to the serene face of Elizabeth; her complexion is fine, and her features regular, but their expression cold and hard, her figure stiff, and her elbows very square. She wears a flowing scarlet robe, on the train of which is curled up a queer little white poodle; and which looks the sourest, the mistress or dog, it would be difficult to decide. She appears a middle-aged woman: it would be a compliment to her to guess her at thirty-three, her probable age. These pictures were her queenly portraits when she was faded by her peculiar state, which led ultimately to her premature death. Her earlier pictures were most likely painted at the time of her marriage: they are much handsomer. The portrait from which our engraving is taken belongs to the duke of Bedford. Jane is here a regal-looking woman, not very youthful in appearance, but her eyes are fine, and her features strongly resemble those of her son, Edward VI. The costume is nearly similar to the one at Hampton Court, excepting the sleeves, which are enormously large, and made of gold tissue instead of fur.

An insalubrious state etiquette, after Jane had taken to her chamber (according to the queenly custom), obliged her to confine herself therein a whole month preceding her accouchement, and during this long space of time the royal patient was deprived of the needful benefits of air and exercise. When the hour came in which the heir of England was expected to see the light, it was by no means "the good hour" so emphatically prayed for in the ceremonial of her retirement.¹ After a martyrdom of suffering, the queen's attendants put to Henry the really cruel question, of "whether he would wish his wife or infant to be saved?" It is affirmed, and it must be owned the speech is too char-

¹ See biography of Elizabeth of York, vol. iv.

acteristic of Henry to be doubted, that he replied, "The child by all means, for other wives could be easily found."¹ The following historical ballad tells, in its homely strains, the same tale in a version meant to be complimentary to the king, long before Sanders had embodied it in his prejudiced history, which, in sonorous Latin, has preserved so many scandals of Henry and his favorites. The ballad alludes to the loss of Henry VIII.'s large ship, the *Mary Rose*, and several minutiae which would have been forgotten if it had not been nearly contemporary. We think the style of Thomas Churchyard may be recognized in it,—the poet who succeeded Skelton as a popular versifier in the times of Henry VIII. and queen Mary:—

"Whenas king Henry ruled this land
He had a queen, I understand,
Lord Seymonr's daughter, fair and bright;
Yet death, by his remorseless power,
Did blast the bloom of this fair flower.
O mourn, mourn, mourn, fair ladies,
Your queen the flower of England's dead!

"The queen in travail pained sore
Full thirty woful hours and more,
And no ways could relieved be,
As all her ladies wished to see;
Wherefore the king made greater moan
Than ever yet his grace had done.

"Then, being something eased in mind,
His eyes a troubled sleep did find;
Where, dreaming he had lost a rose,
But which he could not well suppose
A ship he had, a Rose² hy name,—
Oh, no; it was his royal Jane!

¹ Sanders, p. 89.

² The loss of this ship, the *Mary Rose*, was certainly fresh in the public memory when this rhyme was compounded. It was lost in 1540, at Spithead, through the perverse disobedience of the mariners; it heeled, and foundered with 700 men, who were drowned in the king's sight. The loss of this, his finest war-ship, greatly afflicted Henry.—See Narrative of sir Peter Carew, brother to the commander of the *Mary Rose*, a MS. in possession of sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. Many portions of the *Mary Rose* have lately been recovered, as well as those of the *Royal George*, which underwent a similar fate. The sea in both cases seems to keep antiquities well.

"Being thus perplexed with grief and care,
 A lady to him did repair,
 And said, 'O king, show us thy will,
 The queen's sweet life to save or spill?'
 'Then, as she cannot saved be,
 Oh, save the flower though not the tree.'
 O mourn, mourn, mourn, fair ladies,
 Your queen the flower of England's dead!"

Another authority affirms that the queen entreated her assistants to take care of her infant in preference to herself. After all, it is expressly declared by a circular notification, "that the queen was happily delivered of a prince on Friday, October 12th, being the vigil of St. Edward's day;" and had she been kept in a state of rational quiet, it is probable she might have recovered. But the intoxication of joy¹ into which the king and the court were plunged at the appearance of the long-desired heir of England seemed to deprive them of all consideration of consequences, or they would have kept the bustle attendant on the ceremonial of his christening far enough from her. When all the circumstances of this elaborate ceremony are reviewed, no doubt can exist that it was the ultimate cause of queen Jane's death: it took place on the Monday night after the birth of the prince. The arrangement of the procession, which

¹ Even the clear head of bishop Latimer seems to have been affected by the general delirium on this occasion, for his letter of congratulation to Cromwell and the privy council is worded in an extraordinary style:—"Right Honorable, —We salute in Christ Jesu. And, sir, here is no less joying and rejoicing in these parts for the birth of our prince, whom we hungered for so long, than there was, I trow, by the neighbors at the birth of John the Baptist, as this bearer, master Evance, can tell you. God give us grace to yield due thanks to our Lord God, the God of England, or rather an English God, if we consider and ponder well all his proceedings with us from time to time. He hath overcome all our illness with his exceeding goodness, so that we are now more compelled to serve him, seek his glory, and promote his word, if the devil of all devils be not in us. We have now the stop of vain trusts, the stay of vain expectations; let us all pray for his preservation. And I, for my part, well wish that his grace always have, and even now from the beginning, governors, instructors, and officers of right judgment. But what a great *fooll* am I! So that devotion showeth, at times, but little discretion. And thus the God of England be ever with you in all your proceedings.

"P.S.—If you would excite the bearer of this to be more hearty against the abuse of imagery, and more forward to promote the verity, it might do good, not that it came of me, but of yourself. Hartlebury, Worcester."—State-Papers.

commenced in her very chamber, was not injurious enough for the sick queen, but regal etiquette imperiously demanded that she should play her part in the scene; nor was it likely that a private gentlewoman raised to the queenly state would seek to excuse herself from anything pertaining to her dignity, however inconvenient. It was the rule for a queen of England,¹ when her infant was christened, to be removed from her bed to a state-pallet, which seems anciently to have fulfilled the uses of a sofa. This was decorated at the back with the crown and arms of England, wrought in gold thread; it was furnished with two long pillows, and two square ones, a coverture of white lawn five yards square, a counterpane of scarlet cloth lined with ermine. The queen reclined, propped with four cushions of crimson damask with gold; she was wrapped about with a round mantle of crimson velvet, furred with ermine.

The baptism of the prince took place by torchlight in the chapel of Hampton Court, where the future defender of the reformed religion was presented at the font by his sister and Catholic successor, the princess Mary. There, too, unconscious of the awful event that had changed her fortunes in the dawn of her existence, after she had been proclaimed heiress of the realm, came the young motherless Elizabeth, who had been roused from her sweet slumbers of infant innocence, and arrayed in robes of state, to perform the part assigned to her in the ceremony. In this procession Elizabeth, borne in the arms of the aspiring Seymour (brother to the queen), with playful smiles carried the chrysom for the son of her for whose sake her mother's blood had been shed on the scaffold and herself branded with the reproach of illegitimacy. And there the earl of Wiltshire, the father of the murdered Anne Boleyn, and grandfather of the disinherited Elizabeth, made himself an object of contemptuous pity to every eye by assisting at this rite, bearing a taper of virgin wax, with a towel about his neck. How strangely associated seem the other personages who met in this historical scene! how passing strange,

¹ See Ordinances for all Ceremonial, by Margaret Beaufort, the countess of Richmond, grandmother to Henry VIII.; MSS. Harleian.

in the eyes of those before whom the scroll of their after-life has been unrolled, it is to contemplate the princess Mary joining Cranmer (afterwards sent to the stake in her reign), who was associated with his enemy the duke of Norfolk, all as sponsors in this baptismal rite!

The font of solid silver was guarded by sir John Russell, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Francis Bryan, and sir Anthony Browne in aprons, and with towels about their necks. The marchioness of Exeter¹ carried the child under a canopy which was borne by the duke of Suffolk, the marquess of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and lord William Howard. The prince's wet-nurse (whom he afterwards called 'mother Jack,'² from her name of Jackson) walked near to her charge, and after her came the queen's domestics, among whom was the midwife. While his attendants were making the royal infant ready in the traverse (which was a small space screened off from the rest of the chapel), *Te Deum* was sung. The ceremonial was arranged for the lord William Howard to give the towel, first to the lady Mary, lord Fitzwalter to bear the covered basins, lord Delawar to uncover them, and lord Stourton to give the towels to Cranmer and the duke of Norfolk. After the prince was baptized, his style was thus proclaimed by Garter:—"God, in his Almighty and infinite grace, grant good life and long to the right high, right excellent, and noble prince Edward, duke of Cornwall and earl of Chester, most dear and entirely-beloved son of our most dread and gracious lord

¹ This unfortunate lady, the wife of the king's cousin-german, was condemned afterwards to death for no crime, and (after the execution of her husband) suffered an imprisonment in the Tower till the accession of Mary. The dowager-marchioness of Dorset was at first appointed, in the names of king Henry and queen Jane, to carry the prince at his baptism. It is probable she had no mind to give any more gold basins to royal godchildren, for she had already made that costly present to the princess Elizabeth. Therefore she excused herself on account of the plague having broke out at Croydon, returning "as many thanks as her poor heart can think, that it hath pleased his grace to appoint me, so poor a woman, to so high a place as to have borne my lord prince to his christening, which I should have been as glad to have done as any poor woman living: and much it grieveth me that my fortune is so evil, by reason of the sickness here, in Croydon, to be banished your grace's presence. Written at Croydon, the 14th day of October."—State-Papers.

² Her portrait by this name is extant among Holbein's original drawings.

Henry VIII." The lady Mary gave her godson a cup of gold, by lord Essex; Cranmer gave him three great bowls and two great pots, which were borne by the father of Anne Boleyn. The duke of Norfolk presented a similar offering. In the returning procession, the princess Elizabeth was led away by the princess Mary, her sister. The train of the infant princess—for, though but four years old, she had a train—was carried by the lady Herbert, sister of a future queen, Katharine Parr. The heir of England was borne back in solemn state, with trumpets sounding before him, to his mother's chamber, there to receive her blessing. There is a grand staircase at Hampton Court leading direct from the chapel-royal to a fine archway, forming an entrance from the third landing to the queen's private suite of lodging-rooms. The archway has been recently restored, after being long defaced and walled up: it coincides in every point of architecture with the chapel and the entrances to Wolsey's hall. It communicates with a corridor, called in the tradition of the palace the 'silver-stick gallery,' where chamberlains and other court officers used to wait. At this entrance the trumpet-flourishes announced the return of the infant prince from his baptism in the neighboring chapel.

King Henry had remained seated by the queen's pallet during the whole of the baptismal rite, which, with all its tedious parade, took up two or three hours, not being over till midnight. What with the presence of king Henry,—rather a boisterous inmate for a sick chamber; what with the procession setting out from the chamber, and the braying of the trumpets at its entrance when it returned (the herald especially notes the goodly noise they made there); and, in conclusion, the exciting ceremonial of bestowing her maternal benediction on her newly-baptized babe, the poor queen had been kept in a complete hurry of spirits for many hours. The natural consequence of such imprudence was, that on the day after she was indisposed, and on the Wednesday so desperately ill that all the rites of the Roman Catholic church were administered to her: the official statements are still extant, and prove how completely mistaken those writers are who consider Jane Seymour as a Protes-

tant. Equally mistaken are those who affirm that she died, either directly after the birth of Edward VI., or even two days afterwards: the fact is, she lived nearly a fortnight.

In a circular, which is the first instance of a royal bulletin, minute accounts are given of the queen's health; to which is added, "Her confessor hath been with her grace this morning, and hath done that which to his office appertaineth, and even now is about to administer to her grace the sacrament of unction. At Hampton Court this Wednesday morning,¹ eight o'clock." Nevertheless, the queen amended, and was certainly alive on the 24th of October, as this letter, from sir John Russell to Cromwell, indubitably proves:—

"SIR:—

"The king was determined, as this day, to have removed to Esher; and because the queen was very sick this night, and this day, he tarried; but to-morrow, God willing, he intendeth to be there. If she amend, he will go; but if she amend not, he told me, this day, 'he could not find it in his heart;' for, I assure you, she hath been in great danger yesternight and this day. Thanked be God, she is somewhat amended; and if she 'scape this night, the physicians be in good hope that she be past all danger.

"Hampton Court, the 24th of October."

She did not live over the night; for the amendment mentioned was but the rally often occurring before death. "The departure of queen Jane was as heavy to the king as ever was heard tell of. Directly she expired, the king withdrew himself, as not to be spoken to by any one. He left Hampton Court for Windsor, part of his council remaining to order her funeral."² In a despatch from the council to the ambassador of France, the death of the queen is clearly attributed to having been suffered to take cold and eat improper food.³ This agrees perfectly with a statement in Leland's genealogy of prince Edward, published in 1543, and written nearly at the time of her death.

"On Thursday, October 25th, she was embalmed; and wax-chandlers did their work about her. The next day, Friday, 26th, was provided, in the chamber of presence, a hearse with twenty-four tapers, garnished with pensils and *other decencies*. Also, in the same chamber, was provided an altar

¹ Supposed to be October 17th.—State-Papers, vol. i. p. 572.

² Herald's Journal, Cottonian MSS.

³ State-Papers, vol. i. p. 573.

for mass to be said, richly apparelled with black, garnished with the cross, images, censers, and other ornaments; and daily masses were said by her chaplains and others. This done, the corpse was reverently conveyed from the place where she died, under a hearse covered with a rich pall of cloth of gold, and a cross set thereupon; lights were burning night and day, with six torches and lights upon the altar all divine service time. All ladies were in mourning habits, with white kerchiefs over their heads and shoulders, kneeling about the hearse all service time, in lamentable wise, at mass forenoon and at dirige after.”¹ An English ballad is extant, which, dwelling on the elaborate mourning of queen Jane’s ladies, informs the world, in a line of pure bathos,—

“In black were her ladies, and black were their fans.”

A watch of these ladies, with the princess Mary at their head as chief mourner, was kept nightly in the queen’s chamber round the royal corpse till the last day of October, when the bishop of Carlisle, her almoner, entering in *pontificalibus*, assisted by the sub-dean and the bishop of Chichester, performed all ceremonies, as censuring with holy water, and attended the removal of the coffin, with great state and solemnity, to Hampton Court chapel. Here the ceremonies were renewed, day by day, till November 12th, when the queen’s funeral procession set out from Hampton to Windsor for interment in St. George’s chapel, which was done with all the pomp and majesty possible. The corpse of Jane Seymour was put on a car of state, covered with a rich pall, and over it was placed her wax statue, exactly representing her in her robes of state, the hair flowing on the shoulders; a crown of state on the head, a sceptre of gold in the right hand, the fingers covered with rings of precious stones, and the neck with ornaments with jewels; the shoes and hose of gold cloth. The head rested on a pillow of gold cloth and gems, and the car was drawn by six horses. The princess Mary paid all the duty of a daughter to her friendly step-mother, by attending as chief

¹ Herald’s Journal, MSS. Cottonian, Nero, c. x.

mourner.¹ In every instance the rites of the ancient church were performed. "I have caused," writes sir Richard Gresham, from the city, to Cromwell,² "1200 masses to be said for the soul of our most gracious queen. And whereas the lord mayor and aldermen were lately at Paul's, and there gave thanks unto God for the birth of our prince my lord, I do think it convenient that there should also be at Paul's a solemn dirge and mass, and that the mayor and aldermen should pray and offer for her grace's soul.

Jane was interred in the midst of the choir at St. George's chapel: an epitaph was composed for her, comparing her, in death, to the phoenix, from whose death another phoenix, Edward VI., took existence. Bishop Godwin affirms that these lines were engraved on the stone which covered the place of interment:—

"Phoenix Jana jacet nato phoenixe; dolendum,
Sæcula phoenixes nulla tulisse duos."

"Here a phoenix lieth, whose death
To another phoenix gave breath:
It is to be lamented much,
The world at once ne'er knew two such."

Two queens of Henry had been previously consigned to their last repose. Katharine of Arragon was buried as his brother's widow, and not as his wife. As to Anne Boleyn, her poor mangled corpse was not vouchsafed, as far as her unloving spouse was aware, the religious rites bestowed on the remains of the most wretched mendicant who expires on the highway of our Christian land. Jane Seymour was the first spouse, out of three, whom he owned at her death as his wedded wife.

Henry VIII. wrote an exulting letter to Francis I. on the birth of his heir, at the end of which he acknowledges that the death of the mother had cost him some pain, yet his joy far exceeded his grief. His respect for the memory of his lost queen can be best appreciated by the circumstance of his wearing black for her loss, even at the Christmas festival, when the whole court likewise appeared in deep

¹ Lodge's biographies. It is likewise evident from her privy-purse expenses.

² State-Papers, vol. i. p. 574.

mourning.¹ As this worldly-minded king detested the sight of black, or anything that reminded him of death, so entirely that he was ready to assault violently persons who came to court in mourning for their friends, the extent of his self-sacrifice may be imagined, for he did not change his widower's habiliments till Candlemas (February 2d). He had already been thrice married, yet it was the first time he had comported himself like a dutiful widower; and though he married thrice afterwards, he never wore mourning for a wife. The letters of condolence he received from his prelates and nobles, on the death of Jane, were numerous. An abstract from one shall serve as a specimen; it was addressed to him by Tunstall, bishop of Durham:—

“Please your highness to understand, that whereas of late it hath pleased God to take unto his mercy, out of this present life, the most blessed and virtuous lady, your grace's most dearest wife, the queen's grace (whose soul God pardon), news thereof, sorrowful to all men, came into these parts. Surely it cannot well be expressed how all men, of all degrees, did greatly lament and mourn the death of that noble lady and princess, taken out of this world by bringing forth of that noble fruit sprung of your majesty and her, to the great joy and inestimable comfort of all your subjects. Considering, withal, that this noble fruit, my lord prince, in his tender age entering in this world is, by her death, left a dear orphan, commencing thereby this miserable and mortal life not only by weeping and wailing, as the misery of mankind requireth, but also reft in the beginning of his life of his most dear mother, albeit to him, by tenderness of his age, it is not known what he hath lost, we have much more cause to mourn, seeing such a virtuous princess is so suddenly taken from us. And when Almighty God hath taken from your grace, to your great discomfort, a most blessed and virtuous lady, consider what he hath given to your highness, and to the *rejoice* of all us your subjects,—our most noble prince, to whom God hath ordained your majesty to be mother as well as father. God gave to your grace that noble lady, and God hath taken her away as pleased him.”

The infant prince, whose birth cost Jane her life, was nursed at Havering-Bower. He inherited his mother's beauty, her starry eyes and regular features. Margaret lady Bryan, who had faithfully superintended the childhood of Henry's two daughters, had now the care of their brother, Jane Seymour's motherless babe. Her descriptions of his infancy at Havering are pretty. In one she says² “that my lord prince's grace is in good health and merry; and his grace hath three teeth out, and the fourth appearing.”

¹ Speed.

² State-Paper office; letter dated Havering-Bower.

She complains, however, "that the princely baby's best coat was only tinsel, and that he hath never a good jewel to set on his cap; howbeit, she would order all things for his honor as well as she could, so that the king (Henry VIII.) should be contented withal." The lord chancellor Audley visited him at Havering, in the summer of 1537, and has left another description of the royal nursling. Audley assures Cromwell that he never saw so goodly a child of his age, "so merry, so pleasant, so good and loving of countenance, and so earnest an eye, which, as it were, makes sage judgment of every one that approacheth his grace. And, as it seemeth to me, his grace well increaseth in the air that he is in. And albeit, as his grace decreaseth in flesh, yet he shooteth out in length, and waxeth firm and stiff, and can steadfastly stand, and would advance himself to move and go if they would suffer him; but, as me-seemeth, they yet do best, considering his grace is yet but tender, that he should not strain himself as his own courage would serve him, till he come to be above a year of age. I was right glad to understand there, that the king's majesty will have his grace removed from Havering now, against winter-time; for surely it seemeth to me that the house be a cold house for winter, but for summer it is a good, and goodly air. I cannot comprehend nor describe the goodly, towardly qualities that are in my lord prince's grace."¹ Again, at Hunsdon, lady Bryan wishes Henry VIII. had seen "my lord prince's grace, for his grace was marvellous pleasantly disposed; the minstrels played, and his grace danced and played so wantonly that he could not stand still, and was as full of pretty *toys* [sportiveness] as I ever saw child in my life."²

It was but a few years afterwards that the little son of Jane Seymour took pen in hand, and wrote his own biography. It was very *naïve* and childlike; at the same time, he briefly mentions various matters of importance on which history is silent. "The year of our Lord 1537," commences the young literary king, "a prince was born to king Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour, then queen, who within a *few days*"³

¹ State-Papers, pp. 586, 587.

² State-Paper, letter 1539.

³ This journal of Edward VI. ought to have entirely dispelled the error that

of the birth of her son died, and was buried at Windsor. This child was christened by the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, and the archbishop of Canterbury.¹ Afterwards he was brought up, till he came to six years old, among the women. At the sixth year of his age he was brought up in learning by master Dr. Cox, who was after his almoner, and John Cheke, master of arts, two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of Scripture, philosophy, and all liberal sciences: also John Belmaine, Frenchman, did teach him the French language. The tenth year, not yet ended, it was appointed he should be created prince of Wales, etc.; at which time, being the year of our Lord 1547, the said king died of a dropsy, as it was thought. After whose death incontinent came Edward earl of Hertford (queen Jane's brother) and sir Anthony Browne to convoy this prince to Enfield, where the earl of Hertford declared to him, and to his younger sister Elizabeth, the death of their father."

This pretty journal deteriorated as the years of the royal child advanced. Interested politicians bred mortal strife between his two maternal uncles, and in the year 1549 his journal records, in terms strangely devoid of human sympathy, the execution of his mother's younger brother, lord Thomas Seymour. The young king certainly loved lord Thomas; the question therefore naturally presents itself, whether the royal journal was not written under surveillance. The dreadful fact has lately been unveiled that the childish testimony of Edward VI., wrung from him by the questioning of the enemies of his mother's family, was used to facilitate the condemnation of his younger uncle, prosecuted by the elder.² Lady Seymour, the mother of queen Jane, died in 1550, a few months after the execution of her youngest son, with whom she had resided since the death

queen Jane died at his birth, or a few hours after. The original journal is among Cottonian MSS., Nero, c. x.

¹ By this it should seem Edward renounced his sister Mary as his godmother. Not only the *Herald's Journal* of the day mentions her as such, but the Venetian historian Baoardo, edited by Luca Cortile, 1558.

² From the State-Paper office, by the researches of Mr. Tytler; also Haynes's *State-Papers*.

of his wife, queen Katharine Parr. Whether the death of lady Seymour had been hastened by the splendid miseries in which the royal marriage of her daughter Jane had involved her family, can only be guessed. The journal of the king, her grandson, contains no memorial of her demise, although it notes the death of her relative lord Wentworth, and the circumstance of his leaving sixteen children.

At the time of these occurrences the duke of Somerset had been deprived of the protectorate, and was tottering to his fall; nevertheless, he proposed in the privy council that a public mourning should be ordered for his mother, as being the king's grandmother, requiring his majesty to wear his *doole* in order to testify his respect for the memory of queen Jane, "and the duty of love the child oweth to the parent." A curious discussion on court mournings followed in the council. The Dudley faction opposed Somerset's proposal by three objections,¹ strangely inconsistent in principle. The first was one of ultra-godliness, "because mourning, worn at all, serveth to induce a diffidence of a better life won to the departed, yea, was cause and scruple of faith unto the weak." The second pleaded, on the score of avarice, "against the impertinent charges bestowed upon black cloth, and other instruments of funeral pomp and *doole*," meaning by this expressive old English word, the whole appurtenances of "inky cloaks and solemn black." The third argument was in the spirit of utter worldliness, and was probably sincere enough, urging the downright dislike "that kings and courtiers have to look on anything reminding them of death; for the late king Henry, our sovereign lord, oftentimes would not only dispense with all *doole*, but would be ready to pluck the black apparel from such men's backs as presumed to wear it in his presence, for a king being the life and heart of a commonwealth, such doleful tokens ought not to be seen in his presence. Nevertheless,

¹ From a MS. journal of the privy council of Edward VI., Harbin's Collection, now in the MS. library of sir T. Phillips, Bart., of Middle Hill, through whose favor the extract has been made. The three clauses of objection, though oddly blended in one dissertation, were, no doubt, the sentiments of three different privy councillors.

his majesty king Edward should be consulted thereon." Young Edward, of course, returned an answer consistent with the views of those who had him in their custody, and forthwith dispensed, not only with his own mourning for his grandmother, but strictly forbade his uncle Somerset or his train to come to court in any such *doole*.

In a little more than a year after, Somerset perished on the scaffold, by a warrant signed by the hand of his royal nephew. All Protestants deeply lamented his death, as the real founder of their church of England. A heartless entry occurs in the young king's journal recording the execution of this uncle; yet it would be wrong to attribute blame to the royal boy, whose mind was, according to a contemporary,¹ torn with anguish at the ruin, thus completed, of his mother's family. Sir John Hayward declares that the young king would often sigh and let fall tears when his uncles were mentioned. "Ah!" said he, "how unfortunate have I been to those of my blood! My mother I slew at my birth, and since have been the death of two of her brothers, haply to make way for the purposes of others against myself." Notwithstanding the severe penalty queen Jane and her two hapless brothers had paid for their connection with the English throne, the ambition of the house of Seymour was untamable. Her nephew, the earl of Hertford, and his grandson, underwent great trouble because they would match with no mates but ladies of the blood-royal: they successively suffered long captivity in the Tower, when the one married lady Katharine Gray, the older lady Arabella Stuart.

Jane Seymour was undeniably the first woman espoused by Henry VIII. whose title, both as wife and queen, was neither disputed by himself nor his subjects. Whilst Katharine of Arragon lived, a great part of the people considered Anne Boleyn but as the shadow of a queen. Both Katharine

¹ Sir John Hayward, in his contemporary History of Edward VI. Likewise the traditions of sir Nicholas Throckmorton, in a MS. of the late sir Charles Throckmorton, to which we shall have occasion to refer subsequently: sir Nicholas Throckmorton was in the household of Edward VI. Strype strives to invalidate the testimony of Hayward, but adduces no evidence against it.

rine and Anne were removed by death from rivalry. No doubts were ever raised to the legal rights of Jane as queen of England. It was owing to this circumstance, as well as the dignity she derived from being the sultana-mother of his heir, that Henry, in his last will, commanded that the bones of his "loving queen Jane" were to be placed in his tomb. He likewise left directions for a magnificent monument to their mutual memories, which he intended should be erected in the Windsor chapel. Both their statues were to be placed on the tomb: the effigy of Jane was to recline, not as in death, but as one sweetly sleeping; children were to sit at the corners of the tomb, having baskets of roses, white and red, made of fine oriental stones,—jasper, carnelian, and agate, "which they shall *show* to take in their hands, and cast them down on and over the tomb, and down on the pavement; and the roses they cast over the tomb shall be enamelled and gilt, and the roses they cast on the steps and pavement shall be formed of the said fine oriental stones, and some shall be inlaid on the pavement."¹ This beautiful idea was not realized; the monument was, indeed, commenced, but never finished, and the materials were either stolen or sold in the civil wars of the seventeenth century. The commands of the king were, however, obeyed regarding his interment, and his coffin was laid by Jane Seymour's side in the vaults of St. George's chapel. When George IV. searched the vaults for the body of Charles I., in 1813, queen Jane's coffin was discovered close to the gigantic skeleton of Henry VIII., which some previous accident had exposed to view.² As no historical fact could be ascertained by the disturbance of the queen's remains, George IV. would not suffer her coffin to be opened, and the vault where she lies, near the sovereign's side of the stalls of the Garter, was finally closed up.³

¹ Speed, from a curious MS. of the device of the tomb, lent him by the Lancaster herald.

² Evelyn says that a parliamentary soldier had concealed himself for plunder in St. George's chapel, Windsor, during the burial of Charles I.; and, in an incredibly short time, stole a piece of Henry VIII.'s rich velvet pall, and was supposed to have done some further mischief.

³ Sir Henry Hallford, who examined the remains of Henry VIII. in his coffin, was astonished at the extraordinary size and power of his frame, which was

The bed in which Edward VI. was born and his mother died was long shown to the public. Hentzner mentions seeing it in the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign; but in recent years every fragment of the furniture of the ancient queenly apartments at Hampton Court has disappeared, and what became of the bed it would be difficult to discover. The rooms seem to have been altered when the arch of the beautiful state-entrance from the great staircase was defaced and walled up,¹ a proceeding wholly unaccountable, without it was connected with an absurd story, still traditional as Hampton Court gossip, concerning that mysterious angle of the palace. It is told, with suitable awe, "that ever as the anniversary of Edward VI.'s birth-night returns, the spectre of Jane Seymour is seen to ascend those stairs, clad in flowing white garments, with a lighted lamp in her hand." Is it possible that the archway leading to the 'silver-stick gallery' and queenly sleeping-rooms was filled up to impede the entrance of the shade of the queen?

well suited to his enormous arm-chair, said to be at Windsor. He resembled the colossal figure of his grandfather, Edward IV., who was six feet two inches in height, and possessed of tremendous strength.

¹ It has been lately discovered by Mr. Wilson of Hampton Court, and beautifully restored under his care.

ANNE OF CLEVES,

FOURTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

Henry the Eighth's difficulties in finding a fourth wife—Motives for choosing Anne of Cleves—Her birth and family—Want of accomplishments—Beauty exaggerated—Her virtues—Portrait by Hans Holbein—Marriage-treaty concluded—Anne called queen of England—Progress thither—Detained at Calais—Sails for England—King's incognito visit at Rochester—His disappointment—His New-year's gift—Reluctance to the marriage—Anne's public meeting with him—Her dress and person—Discontent of the king—Nuptials of Henry VIII. and Anne—Her costly dresses—Bridal pageants—Injurious conduct of the king—Agitates a divorce—Queen Anne sent to Richmond—Cranmer dissolves her marriage—Interview with privy council—She consents to divorce—King Henry visits her—Reports of Anne's restoration as queen—Scandals investigated by council—Life of retirement—Informed of the king's death—Friendship with his children—Death of her brother—Her letter to queen Mary—Her housekeeping—Death—Will—Funeral—Her tomb in Westminster abbey—An impostor assumes her name.

If the name of this ill-treated princess has not always excited the sympathy to which her gentle virtues ought to have entitled her, it can only be attributed to the contempt which her coarse-minded consort expressed for her person. Henry VIII. had, as we have seen, disposed of three queens before he sought the hand of Anne of Cleves, and, though historians have said much of his devotion to the memory of Jane Seymour, she had not been dead a month ere he made a bold attempt to provide himself with another wife. Francis I., when Henry requested to be permitted to choose a lady of the royal blood of France for his queen, replied, "that there was not a damsel of any degree in his dominions who should not be at his disposal." Henry took this compliment so literally that he required the French monarch to bring the fairest ladies of his court to Calais, for him to take his choice. The gallantry of Francis was shocked at such an idea, and he replied, "that it was

impossible to bring ladies of noble blood to market, as horses were trotted out at a fair."

Chatillon, the French ambassador, gives Francis a lively account of the pertinacious manner in which Henry insisted on marrying the beautiful Marie of Lorraine, duchess-dowager of Longueville, who was the betrothed of his nephew, James V. of Scotland. "February 11, 1537. He is," says his excellency, "so in love with madame de Longueville, that he is always recurring to it. I have told him she is engaged to the king of Scotland, but he does not give credit to it. I asked him if he would marry the wife of another? and he said, 'He knew that she had not passed her word yet, and that he will do twice as much for you as the king of Scots can.' He says, 'Your daughter is too young; and as to mademoiselle Vendome, he will not take the refusings of that king.'"¹ Chatillon describes Henry as still harping on the fair Longueville some days after, but, at the same time, talking of four other marriages, in which he projected disposing of himself and his three children as follows: "himself to a daughter of Portugal, or the duchess of Milan; his son, then four months old, to the daughter of the emperor; the lady Mary to the infant of Portugal; and his youngest girl to the king of Hungary. In the succeeding month he again importuned for madame Longueville." The ambassador proposed her handsome sister, or mademoiselle Vendome: Henry demanded that "they should be brought to Calais for his inspection." Chatillon said "that would not be possible, but his majesty could send some one to look at them."—"Pardie!" replied Henry, "how can I depend upon any one but myself?"² He was also very desirous of hearing the ladies sing, and seeing how they looked while singing. "I must see them myself, and *see* them sing," he said. After alternately wheedling and bullying Chatillon for nearly a year on this subject,³ Henry reluctantly resigned his sultan-like idea of choosing a bride from the beauties of the French court, and turned his attention elsewhere. But as it was universally reported that his three queens had all come by their deaths unfairly,

¹ *Dépêches de Chatillon; Bibliothèque du Roi.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

—Katharine of Arragon by poison, Anne Boleyn by the axe, and Jane Seymour for want of proper care in childbed, —he found himself so greatly at discount among such princesses as he deemed worthy of the honor of his hand that, despairing of entering a fourth time into the wedded state, he concealed his mortification by assuming the airs of a disconsolate widower, and remained queenless and forlorn for upwards of two years.

Reasons of a political nature, combined with his earnest wish of obtaining a fair and gentle helpmate for his old age, induced him to lend an ear to Cromwell's flattering commendation of the princesses of the house of Cleves. The father of these ladies, John III., surnamed 'the Pacificator,' was duke of Cleves, count of Mark, and lord of Ravenstein. By his marriage with Marie, the heiress of William duke of Juliers, Berg, and Ravensburgh, he added those possessions to his patrimony when he succeeded to the dominions of his father, John the Clement, in 1521. Anne was the second daughter of this noble pair. She was born the 22d of September, 1516, and was brought up a Lutheran, her father having established those doctrines in his dominions.¹ The device of Anne, as princess of Cleves, was two white swans, emblems of candor and innocence. They were derived from the fairy legend celebrated in the lays of the Rhine, her native river, of 'the knight of the swan,' her immediate ancestor, who came and departed so mysteriously to the heiress of Cleves in a boat, guided down the noble river by two white swans. From this legend the princely house of Cleves took the swans as supporters. Their family motto was CANDIDA NOSTRA FIDES,—'our faith is spotless.'

Anne's elder sister, Sybilla, was married in 1527 to John Frederick duke of Saxony, who became the head of the Protestant confederation in Germany, known in history by the term of 'the Smalcaldic league.' He was the champion of the Reformation, and for his invincible adherence to his principles, and his courage in adversity, was surnamed 'the lion-hearted Elector.' Sybilla was in every respect worthy

¹ Anderson's *Genealogies*: table cccxlvii. p. 586. *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, tom. iii. p. 165.

of her illustrious consort; she was famed for her talents, virtues, and conjugal tenderness, as well as for her winning manners and great beauty, and was generally esteemed as one of the most distinguished ladies of the era in which she lived. Cromwell must have calculated on the probability of the younger sisters of Sybilla resembling her in their general characteristics, when he recommended those ladies to the attention of his fastidious sovereign. Much, indeed, might the influence of a queen like Sybilla have done for the infant Reformation in England; but never were two ladies of the same parentage so dissimilar as the beautiful and energetic electress of Saxony and her passive sister, Anne of Cleves. It was, however, mentioned as a peculiar recommendation for Anne and her younger sister, the lady Amelie, that they had both been educated by the same prudent and sensible mother who had formed the mind of Sybilla, and it was supposed their acquirements were of a solid kind, since accomplishments they had none, with the exception of needlework.¹

Henry commissioned Hans Holbein to paint the portraits of both Anne and Amelie for his consideration; but though he determined to take his choice, Cromwell's agents at the courts of Cleves and Saxony had predisposed him in favor of Anne, by the reports they had written of her charms and amiable qualities. Christopher Mount, who was employed to negotiate the treaty of alliance with the duke of Cleves, must have thought highly of Anne's personal attractions, since he was urgent with the duke to employ his own painter to execute her portrait for Henry's inspection. The duke, it seems, knew better; but here is what Cromwell states, in his letter to the king, to be Christopher Mount's report on the subject:—"The said Christopher instantly sueth every day that the picture may be sent. Whereunto the duke answered, 'that he should find some occasion to send it, but that his painter, Lucas, was left sick behind him at home.' Every man praiseth the beauty of the said lady, as well for her face as for her person, above all other ladies excellent. One among others said to them of late, that she

¹ Ellis, Royal Letters.

as far excelleth the duchess of Saxony as the golden sun excelleth the silver moon. Every man praiseth the good virtues, and honesty with shamefacedness, which plainly appeareth in the gravity [serenity] of her countenance."¹ The noble mind of John Frederick of Saxony revolted at the proposal of linking his amiable sister-in-law to a prince so notoriously deficient in conjugal virtue as Henry VIII.; Christopher Mount, however, assured him "that the cause of Protestantism in Europe would be greatly advanced by the influence of a Lutheran queen of England, for Henry was so uxorious, that the best way of managing him was through his wives." The other princes of the Smalcaldic league looked only to political expediency, and the conscientious scruples of the heroic Saxon were disregarded.

The death of the duke of Cleves, Anne's father, which occurred February 6, 1539,² occasioned a temporary delay in an early stage of the proceedings; but her mother, as well as her brother duke William (who succeeded to the duchy), were eager to secure so powerful an ally to the Protestant cause as the king of England, and to see Anne elevated to the rank of a queen. According to Burnet, Dr. Barnes was the most active agent employed by Cromwell in the negotiations for the matrimonial treaty, and was never forgiven by Henry for the pains he took in concluding the alliance. Henry's commissioner for the marriage, Nicholas Wotton, gives his sovereign the following particulars of Anne of Cleves. After stating the assurance of the council of the duke her brother, that she is not bounden by any contract made by her father to the duke of Lorraine, but perfectly free to marry where she will, he says:—

"As for the ednoation of my said ladye, she hath from her childhood been like as the ladye Sybille was till she married, and the ladye Amelye hath been and now is, brought up with the lady duchess her mother, and in manner never from her elbow,—the lady duchess being a very wise lady, and one that very straitly looketh to her children. All the gentlemen of the court, and other that I have asked, report her to be of very lowly and gentle conditions, by which she hath so much won her mother's favor, that she is very loath to suffer her to depart from her. She occupieth her time much with the needle. She can read

¹ State-Papers, 606.

² *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.*

and write her own [language], but French and Latin, or other language she knoweth not, nor yet can sing or play on any instrument; for they take it here in Germany for a rebuke and an occasion of lightness, that great ladies should be learned, or have any knowledge of musick. Her wit is so good, that no doubt she will in a short space learn the English tongue, whenever she putteth her mind to it. I could never hear that she is inclined to the good cheer of this country; and marvel it were if she should, seeing that her brother, in whom it were somewhat more tolerable, doth so well abstain from it. Your grace's servant, Hans Holbein, hath taken the effigies of my ladye Anne and the ladye Amelye, and hath expressed their images very lively."

(This letter is dated at Duren, the 11th of August, 1539.)¹

The grave manner in which the matrimonial commissioner reports the favorable replies to his secret inquiries as to the gentle and amiable temper of the princess, and above all her sobriety, is sufficiently amusing.

The choice of a queen for Henry had been the grand desideratum for which Catholics and Protestants had contended ever since the death of Jane Seymour. Cromwell, in matching his sovereign with the sister-in-law of Frederick of Saxony, appeared to have gained a mighty victory over Gardiner, Norfolk, and his other rivals in Henry's privy council. The magic pencil of Hans Holbein was the instrument by which Cromwell, for his own confusion, achieved this great political triumph. Marillae, the French ambassador, in his despatches to the king his master, notices the receipt of this portrait on the 1st of September. He says, "King Henry had sent a painter, who is very excellent in his art, to Germany, to take a portrait to the life of the sister of the duke of Cleves; to-day it arrived, and shortly after a courier with tidings to the said king, which are as yet secret, but the ambassadors on the part of the duke are come to treat with the king about this lady."² The miniature executed by Holbein was exquisite as a work of art, and the box in which it came over "worthy the jewel it contained:" it was in the form of a white rose, delicately carved in ivory, which unscrewed, and showed the miniature at the bottom. This miniature with the box itself was, when Horace Walpole wrote,³ still to be seen in

¹ MS. Cotton., Vitel., B xxi. fol. 186.

² Despatches of Marillae, in the Royal Library at Paris.

³ Anecdotes of Painters.

perfect preservation in the cabinet of Mr. Barrett of Lee. The engraving which illustrates this biography is from a drawing made by Mr. Harding from this curious original. The colors are faded by the operation of time, but the features are regular, although the costume, a stiff German imitation of the prevalent mode, is unbecoming. The five-cornered hood of Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour has been modified into a heavy coif of white lawn or lace. The shoulders are deformed by hard triangular epaulettes, the waist is short, and the elbows loaded by drapery without form or taste. The face of the young lady, however, appeared sufficiently lovely to decide Henry on accepting her, and the negotiation was completed at Windsor early in the same month in which arrived Holbein's flattering portrait. The contract of marriage was signed at Dusseldorf, September 4, 1539.¹ The chancellor of the duke of Cleves was the plenipotentiary on the part of the lady's brother, and as soon as the preliminaries were arranged, great preparations were made in anticipation of her coming.² Though the leaders of the Catholic party were greatly averse to Henry's marriage with a Lutheran princess, the idea of a Flemish queen was agreeable to the people in general, for the illustrious Philippa of Hainault, the best and greatest of all the queens-consort of England, was still remembered. Marillac³ gave his sovereign the following little sketch of what was going on in England at this crisis:—"On the 5th of November the king told his lords 'that he expected the arrival of his spouse in about twenty days, and that he proposed to go to Canterbury to receive her.' His admiral, with a great company of lords, departed on the first of the month for Calais, whither she ought to be conducted by those of the household of her brother, the duke of Cleves, to the number of four hundred horsemen, who have had the safe-conduct of the emperor for this purpose for some

¹ MSS. Cotton., Vespasian, F 5104.

² Excerpta Historica.

³ Marillac was ambassador from France to England in the years 1539 and 1540; and the letters from whence these extracts are selected were written to Francis I., and to the constable *Anne de Montmorenci*, preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, No. 8481. Marillac was afterwards bishop of Vienne, and minister of state in his own country, under both Francis I. and Henry II.

days. From Calais she will cross to Dover, where she will land in this realm, and several of the lords of the king's council will be there to receive her and to conduct her to Canterbury, where the king will meet her, and the marriage will be completed there. Then she will be carried to London, where she will be crowned in the month of February. November 14th.—The king has left this city for Hampton Court, where he will remain till certain news arrive of the arrival of the lady. Last day of November.—The courier, who had been sent to Cleves to learn the time of the new queen's departure, has arrived two days ago, and brings letters stating that on the eighth of next month the said lady will be at Calais, where the duke of Suffolk, the admiral, and many other lords of this court will go to receive her. The duke of Norfolk and the lord Cromwell will follow in a little time, to attend her at Canterbury." Our diplomatic gossip then informs his court that all Henry's ministers will receive the royal bride, and conduct her to their lord at a place about two miles from 'Greenwigs'¹ (Marillac's way of spelling Greenwich), "and in this palace of Greenwigs," pursues he, "they will complete the marriage and keep the Christmas festivals. On the first day of the year they will make their entrance into the city of London, and thence conduct her to the king's royal house at *Valsemaistre* [Westminster], where (on the day of Our Lady of Candlemas) she will be crowned." At length all matters of state policy and royal ceremonials were arranged, and the bride-elect bade a long and, as it proved, a last farewell to her mother, her brother and sisters, by all of whom she was tenderly beloved. She quitted her native city of Dusseldorf the first week in October, 1539, and, attended by a splendid train and escort, left the pleasant banks of the Rhine for the stranger-land of which she was now styled the queen.

Among the unpublished records in the State-Paper office there is a curious programme of the journey of the lady Anne of Cleves from Dusseldorf to Calais, by which we learn that her first day's journey was from Dusseldorf to

¹ This place, two miles from Greenwich, was probably Eltham palace.

Berg, about twenty English miles ; the next from Berg to Cleve, the same distance ; from Cleve to Ravenstein ; from thence to Bertingburg, and so through Tilburgh and Hogenstrete to Antwerp. At Antwerp "many English merchants met her grace four miles without the town," says our MS., "in fifty velvet coats and chains of gold ; and at her entering into Antwerp she was received with twice four-score torches, beginning in the daylight, and so brought her to her English lodging, where she was honorably received, and they kept open household one day for her and her train." The next day the English merchants brought her on her way to Stetkyn, and gave her a gift, and so departed. She then proceeded at the same rate of twenty miles a day, through Tokyn, Bruges, Oldenburgh, Nieuport, and Dunkirk, to Gravelines, where the captain received her honorably, and gave her 'a shot of guns.' The next day, being the 11th of December, she arrived in the English pale at Calais between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, so that she and her ladies must have quitted their pillows and commenced their journey long before it was light.

She was received on the frontier by the lord Lisle, deputy of Calais, the lieutenant of the castle, the knight porter, and the marshal of Calais ; sir George Carew, captain of Rosbank, with the captain of the spears and the cavalry belonging to the garrison, all freshly and gallantly appointed for the occasion, and the men-at-arms with them in velvet coats and chains of gold, with all the king's archers ; and so was she brought towards Calais, one of the king's gentlemen-at-arms riding with one of those belonging to the queen. About a mile from the town she was met by the earl of Southampton, lord admiral of England, the lord William Howard, and many other lords and gentlemen. Gregory Cromwell (the brother-in-law of the late queen Jane Seymour) headed twenty-four gentlemen in coats of satin-damask and velvet, besides the aforesaid lords, who wore four colors of cloth of gold and purple velvet, with chains of gold of great value, and two hundred yeomen in the king's colors, red and blue cloth.¹ Among the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber,

¹ State-Paper MS., 31st Henry VIII.

Thomas Culpepper, who was afterwards beheaded for a suspected intrigue with Henry's fifth queen, Katharine Howard, is named in this contemporary document. It is curious that in the train by whom Anne of Cleves was received at Calais there were kinsmen of five out of the six queens of Henry VIII.

"The earl of Southampton, as the lord admiral of England, was dressed in a coat of purple velvet, cut on cloth of gold, and tied with great aiglettes and trefoils of gold to the number of four hundred; and *baldrick-wise* he wore a chain, at which hung a whistle of gold, set with rich stones of great value.¹ In this company were thirty gentlemen of the king's household, very richly apparelled, with great and massy chains; sir Francis Bryan and sir Thomas Seymour's chains were of especial value and *straunge* fashion. The lord admiral had also a number of gentlemen in blue velvet and crimson satin, and his yeomen in damask of the same colors. The mariners of his ship wore satin of Bruges. The lord admiral with a low obeisance welcomed the royal bride, and brought her into Calais by the lantern-gate, where the ships lay in the haven garnished with their banners, pensils, and flags, pleasant to behold; and at her entry was shot such a peal of guns that all her retinue were astonished." The town of Calais echoed the royal salute with a peal of ordnance along the coast. "When she entered the lantern-gate she stayed to view the king's ships called the Lyon and the Sweepstakes, which were decked with one hundred banners of silk and gold, wherein were two master-gunners, mariners, and thirty-one trumpets, and a double drum, that was never seen in England before; and so her grace entered into Calais, at whose entering there was 150 rounds of ordnance let out of the said ships, which made such a smoke that not one of her train could see the other. The soldiers in the king's livery of the retinue of Calais, the mayor of Calais with his brethren, with the commons of Calais, the merchants of the king's staple, stood in order, forming a line through which

¹ This was the insignia of his office. It will be remembered that the valiant sir Edward Howard, when lord admiral of England, in his last engagement threw his whistle into the sea.

she passed to her lodgings; and so the mayor and his brethren came to her lodging, and gave her fifty sovereigns of gold, and the mayor of the staple gave her sixty sovereigns of gold;¹ and on the morrow after, she had a cannon shot, jousting, and all other royalty that could be devised in the king's garrison-royal, and kept open household there during the time that she did there remain, which was twenty days, and had daily the best pastimes that could be devised."

As the king had been a widower nearly three years, the anticipation of a new queen excited a great sensation in the court, and all the place-hunters were on the alert to obtain preferment, either for themselves or their relations, in the household of the royal bride. Anne Basset, daughter of the viscountess Lisle, having been maid of honor to queen Jane Seymour, writes to her mother in high spirits, being certain of retaining her post when the new queen should arrive. "Howbeit," she says, "I trust to God that we shall have a mistress shortly; and then I trust I shall see you here when she comes over, which I hope to God will not be long." Lady Lisle was very desirous to obtain a similar appointment for her daughter Katharine, and not content with moving her influential friends at court with letters and presents to further her suit, she endeavored to propitiate bluff king Hal himself by an offering of sweetmeats. This gift, consisting of quince-marmalade and damson-cheese (better suited, one would think, to the tastes of his baby boy of three years old), was presented by the fair hand of the graceful maid of honor Anne Basset, and proved so acceptable to the royal epicure that he craved for more,—ay, and that soon. The young lady says:—

"MADAME:—

"The king doth so well like the conserves you sent him last, that his grace commanded me to write unto you for more of the codiniac [quince-marmalade] of the clearest making, and of the conserve of damascenes; and this as soon as may be."²

¹ MS. Journey of the lady Anne of Cleves, in State-Paper office. Hall says that the merchants of the staple presented her with one hundred marks of gold, in a rich purse, which she gratefully accepted.

² Weed's Letters, from the Lisle Papers in the State-Paper office.

This letter is dated from York place (afterwards Whitehall), where the court was then sojourning, the Monday before Christmas-day, the very time when lady Lisle, as the wife of the constable of Calais,¹ was doing the honors of the government house to the royal bride elect, and therefore enjoyed an excellent opportunity of recommending her daughters personally to their future queen. Anne, having rashly filled every appointment in her household, save those offices which the king had imperatively reserved for the great ladies of the court, his nieces and near relations, with her own countrywomen, of whom she was bringing a numerous and unwelcome importation, could not appoint any new English maids of honor at that juncture. Notwithstanding this unpopular arrangement, her deportment was such as to give general satisfaction to the English who waited upon her during her protracted stay at Calais. That lady Lisle herself had made a very pleasant report of Anne's manners and disposition to her daughter Anne Basset, is apparent from the following comment in the young lady's reply:—

"I humbly thank your ladyship of the news you write me of her grace, that she is so good and gentle to serve and please. It shall be no little rejoicement to us her grace's servants here that shall attend daily upon her, and most comfort to the king's majesty, whose highness is not a little desirous to have her grace here."²

Henry beguiled the days of suspense while impatiently awaiting the advent of his long-expected bride by the executions of the venerable abbot of Glastonbury, the abbot of Tendring, and two others,³—an ominous preparation for the reception of a consort whose religious opinions differed so materially from his own. Anne was detained by the perversity of winds and waves so long that she kept her Christmas festival perforce at Calais. On the 27th, being St. John's day, the weather changed: about noon she embarked with her train, and, attended by a royal convoy of

¹ Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, was an illegitimate brother of king Henry's grandmother, Elizabeth of York, being the natural son of Edward IV. by lady Elizabeth Lucy. The Bassets were his lady's numerous and needy family by her first husband.

² Wood's Letters of Illustrious Ladies.

³ Marillac's Despatches. Lingard.

fifty ships, sailed with a prosperous wind, and had so quick a passage that she landed at Deal the same day at five o'clock. She was honorably received by sir Thomas Cheyney, lord warden of the port, and proceeded immediately to a castle newly built, supposed to be Walmer castle, where she changed her dress, and remained till the duke and duchess of Suffolk and the bishop of Chichester, with a great company of knights, esquires, and the flower of the ladies of Kent, came to welcome her to England; by them she was conducted to Dover castle, and there she rested till the Monday,¹ which was a wintry and inclement day. But notwithstanding the storm that raged abroad, she obeyed the instructions that had been issued for the manner and order of her journey, and commenced her progress to Canterbury. On Barham downs she was met by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, St. Asaph, St. David's, and Dover, and a great company of gentlemen, who attended her to St. Augustine's without Canterbury, where she lodged that night, and on the 30th she came to Sittingbourne, where she slept. The next day, which was New-year's even, the duke of Norfolk, the lord Dacre of the south, the lord Mountjoy, and a great company of knights and esquires of Norfolk and Suffolk, with the barons of the Exchequer, all clad in coats of velvet, with chains of gold, met her at Reynham, and, having made their *devoir*, conducted her to Rochester, where she remained in the bishop's palace all New-year's day.²

Henry, who "sore desired to see her grace," told Cromwell "that he intended to visit her privily on the morrow, to nourish love."³ Accordingly, he, with eight gentlemen of his privy-chamber, all dressed alike in coats of marble-color (some sort of gray), rode to Rochester *incognito*, expecting, no doubt, that his highly-praised German bride would rival both the bright-eyed Boleyn and the fair Seymour, and fondly thought to commence a year of love and joy by stealing a look at her beauty. On his arrival, he despatched sir Anthony Browne, his master of the horse,

¹ Hall, p. 833.

² Ibid.

³ Cromwell's letter.—See Burnet, vol. i. p. 182.

to inform Anne that "he had brought her a New-year's gift, if she would please to receive it." The knight afterwards declared, "that he was struck with consternation when he was shown the queen, and was never so much dismayed in his life as to see a lady so far unlike what had been represented."¹ He had, however, the discretion to conceal his impression, well knowing how greatly opinions vary as to beauty, and left the king to judge for himself. When Henry, whose impatience could no longer be restrained, entered the presence of his betrothed, a glance sufficed to destroy the enchantment which Holbein's pencil had created: the goods were not equal to pattern, and he considered himself an injured man. He recoiled in bitter disappointment, and lord Russell, who was present, testified "that he never saw his highness so marvellously astonished and abashed as on that occasion."²

It is possible that Anne was not a whit more charmed with Henry's appearance and deportment than he was with hers, especially as the burly tyrant was not in the most gracious of moods. But, although somewhat taken by surprise at the abrupt entrance of the formidable spouse to whom she had been consigned by the will of her country, she sank upon her knees at his approach, and did her best to offer him a loving greeting.³ Evilily as Henry was disposed towards the luckless princess, he was touched with the meekness and deep humility of her behavior. He did violence to his feelings so far as to raise her up with some show of civility. Hall says, "He welcomed her with gracious words, and gently took her up, and kissed her." The same chronicler adds, "that the king remained with her all the afternoon, communing and devising with her, and supped with her in the evening." From the evidences in Strype's Memorials, we learn that the interview only lasted a few minutes, and that scarcely twenty words were exchanged.

¹ Strype. Tytler. Losely MS.

² Tytler. Lingard. Losely MS.

³ This memorable interview is thus noticed in the contemporary record of queen Anne's journey:—"On the New-year's day her grace tarried at Rochester, on which day the king's highness, only with certain of his privy chamber, came to her and banqueted with her, and after departed to Greenwich again."—Unpublished MSS. in State-Paper office.

Anne's mother-tongue, the German of the Rhine, familiarly called "high Dutch," was so displeasing to Henry's musical ears, that he would not make any attempts to converse with her by means of an interpreter; yet he was previously aware that "his wife could speak no English, he no Dutch." The moment he quitted her presence he sent for the lords who had brought her over, and indignantly addressed the following queries to the lord admiral:—"How like you this woman? Do you think her so personable, fair, and beautiful as report hath been made unto me? I pray you tell me true." The admiral evasively rejoined, "I take her not for *fair*, but to be of a *brown* complexion."—"Alas!" said the king, "whom shall men trust? I promise you I see no such thing as hath been shown me of her by pictures or report. I am ashamed that men have praised her as they have done, and I love her not."¹

The New-year's gift which he had provided for Anne was a partlet of sable skins to wear about her neck, and a *muffly* furred; that is to say, a muff and tippet of rich sables.² This he had intended to present with his own hand to her, but not considering her handsome enough to be entitled to such an honor, he sent it to her the following morning by sir Anthony Browne, with as cold a message as might be.³ He made bitter complaints of his hard fate to lord Russell, sir Anthony Browne, and sir Anthony Denny.⁴ The latter gentleman told his sovereign, "that persons of humble station had this great advantage over princes; that they might go and choose their own wives, while great princes must take such as were brought them." This observation afforded no consolation to the dainty monarch, who had been so pertinaciously desirous of seeing with his own eyes the beauties of France who were proposed to his consideration. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy, and when he saw Cromwell, gave vent to a torrent of vituperation against those who had provided him with so unsuitable a consort, whom, with his characteristic brutality, he likened to a

¹ Stowe's Annals, by Howes, p. 834.

² Strype. Lingard. Losely MS.

³ Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 307.

⁴ Herbert. Burnet. Rapin. Guthrie.

"great Flanders mare." Cromwell endeavored to shift the blame from himself to the admiral, Fitzwilliam earl of Southampton, for whom he had no great kindness, by saying, "that when that nobleman found the princess so different from the pictures and reports which had been made of her, he ought to have detained her at Calais till he had given the king notice that she was not so handsome as had been represented." The admiral replied, bluntly, "that he was not invested with any such authority: his commission was to bring her to England, and he had obeyed his orders." Cromwell retorted upon him, "that he had spoken in his letters of the lady's beauty in terms of commendation, which had misled his highness and his council." The admiral, however, represented, "that as the princess was generally reported for a beauty, he had only repeated the opinions of others; for which no one ought reasonably to blame him, especially as he supposed she would be his queen."¹

This very original altercation was interrupted by the peremptory demand of the king, "that some means should be found for preventing the necessity of his completing his engagement." A council was summoned in all haste, at which the precontract of the lady with Francis of Lorraine was objected by Henry's ministers as a legal impediment to her union with the king.² Anne, who had advanced as far as Dartford (with a heavy heart no doubt), was delayed in her progress, while Osliger and Hostoden, her brother's ambassadors, by whom she had been attended to England, were summoned to produce documentary evidence that the contract was dissolved. They had no legal proofs to show, but declared that the engagement between the lady Anne of Cleves and the marquess of Lorraine had been merely a conditional agreement between the parents of the parties when both in their minority; and that in the year 1535 it had been formally annulled. This they said was registered in the chancery of Cleves, from which they promised to produce an authentic extract within three months.³ Such of the council as were willing to humor the king in his

¹ Burnet's Hist. Reformation, vol. i. p. 260. Guthrie.

² Burnet. Rapin. Strype. Guthrie. Lingard.

³ Ibid.

wish of being released from his engagement to Anne replied, "that this was not enough, as an illegal marriage might endanger the succession:" but Cranmer and the bishop of Durham were of opinion that no just impediment to the marriage existed.¹ Cromwell also represented to the king the impolicy of embroiling himself with the princes of the Smalcaldic league in such forcible terms that Henry at length passionately exclaimed, "Is there, then, no remedy, but that I must needs put my neck into the yoke?"² Having, in these gracious words, signified his intention of proceeding to the solemnization of his nuptials with the insulted lady, who awaited the notification of his pleasure at Dartford, he ordered the most splendid preparations to be made for his marriage.

"Wednesday last," says Marillac,³ "it was notified by a horseman, who made a public outcry in London, that all who loved their lord the king should proceed to *Greenwigs* on the morrow, to meet and make their *devoir* to my lady Anne of Cleves, who would shortly be their queen." If the sight-loving mania of the good people of London in the days of that king of pageants and processions, Henry VIII., any way resembled what it is now, we may imagine the alacrity with which the royal requisition was obeyed by the thousands and ten thousands who poured in an eager animated stream towards the courtly bowers of Greenwich, which had been prepared for the reception of Henry's fourth bride. Marillac records, that "He and the ambassador of the emperor were both invited to attend, in order to render the ceremonial the more honorable; and when they arrived at Greenwich, they found five or six thousand horsemen assembled to form the procession, among whom, for so the king had directed, there was a marvellous silence, without either noise or confusion."

Hall gives the following gorgeous details of the first public state-interview between Henry and his Flemish bride. "On the 3d day of January, being Saturday, on the fair plain of Blackheath, at the foot of Shooter's Hill, was

¹ Burnet.

² Lingard. Herbert. Losely MSS.

³ *Dépêches de Marillac*; Bibliothèque du Roi.

pitched a rich tent of cloth of gold, and divers other tents and pavilions, in which were made fires, with perfumes, for her grace and her ladies," an arrangement which the coldness of the season and the bleak situation of the station rendered necessary. "From the tents to the park gate at Greenwich all the furze and bushes were cut down, and an ample space cleared for the view of all spectators. Next the park pales, on the east side stood the merchants of the Steel-yard, and on the west side stood the merchants of Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Spain, in coats of velvet. On both sides the way stood the merchants of the city of London, and the aldermen and council of the said city, to the number of one hundred and sixty, which were mixed with the esquires. Next the tents were knights, and fifty gentlemen pensioners in velvet, with chains of gold; behind the gentlemen stood the serving men, well horsed and apparelled, that whosoever viewed them well might say that they, for tall and comely personages, and clean of limb and body, were able to give the greatest prince in Christendom a mortal breakfast, if he were the king's enemy. The gentlemen pertaining to the lord chancellor, lord privy-seal, lord admiral, and other nobles, besides their costly liveries, wore chains of gold. These, to the number of upwards of twelve hundred, were ranged in a double file from the park gates to the cross upon the heath, and there awaited the return of the king with her grace. About twelve o'clock her grace, with all the company that were of her own nation, to the number of one hundred horse, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the archbishop of Canterbury, with the other bishops, lords, and knights who had conducted her from France, came down from Shooter's Hill towards the tents, and a good space from the tents she was met by the earl of Rutland, her lord chamberlain, sir Thomas Denny, her chancellor, with all her other officers of state and councillors." Then Dr. Kaye, her almoner, presented to her, on the king's behalf, all the officers and servants of her household, and addressed her in an eloquent Latin oration, of which the unlearned princess understood not a word; but it was answered with all due solemnity in her name by her

brother's secretary, who acted as her interpreter. "Then the king's nieces, the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the queen of Scots, and the marchioness of Dorset,¹ daughter to the queen of France, with the duchess of Richmond,² and the countesses of Rutland and Hertford, and other ladies, to the number of sixty-five, saluted and welcomed her grace." Anne alighted from the chariot in which she had performed her long journey, and with most goodly manner and loving countenance returned thanks, and kissed them all; her officers and councillors kissed her hand, after which she, with all the ladies, entered the tents and warmed themselves.³

Marillac, who made one of the royal cavalcade, says, "The king met them all at the foot of the mountain [meaning Shooter's Hill], attended by five or six thousand horsemen, partly of his household, and partly of the gentlemen of the country, besides those summoned from the city of London, who always assist at these English triumphs, wearing massy chains of gold." The ambassador does not give a flattering description of Anne, who, probably from the coldness of the day, and the painful frame of mind in which she must have been thrown by Henry's demurs, did not appear to advantage. "From what one may judge," he says, "she is about thirty years old [she was but twenty-four]. She is tall of stature, pitted with the small-pox, and has little beauty. Her countenance is firm and determined."⁴ The circumstance of her being marked with the small-pox explains the mystery of why Holbein's portrait pleased the king so much better than the original. No artist copies the cruel traces of that malady in a lady's face; therefore the picture was flattered, even if the features were faithfully delineated. "The said lady," proceeds Marillac, "has brought with her from her brother's country, for her companions, twelve or fifteen damsels,⁵ who are

¹ Frances Brandon, mother of lady Jane Gray.

² Widow of Henry's illegitimate son.

³ Hall's Chronicle, reprint, p. 834.

⁴ Marillac's Despatches.

⁵ The names of the principal persons of distinction by whom Anne of Cleves was attended from her own country to England, together with a few other particulars of ceremonial preparatory to her arrival, may be seen in a curious doc-

even inferior in beauty to their mistress, and are, moreover, dressed after a fashion so heavy and tasteless that it would make them appear frightful, even if they were *belles*." Anne being also dressed after the mode of her own country, which, from the evidence of her portrait, was tasteless as the costume of her maids of honor, the whole party must have appeared somewhat outlandish. A Frenchman, however, is always hypercritical on such points. How much opinions differ on matters of the kind our readers will presently see from the glowing details which Anne's stanch admirer, Hall, has given of her dress and appearance on this occasion. "When the king knew that she was arrived in her tent, he with all diligence set out through the park. First came the king's trumpeter, then the king's officers of his council; after them the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber, some apparelled in coats of velvet embroidered, others had their coats guarded with chains of gold, very rich to behold; these were well mounted and trapped. After them came the barons, the youngest first; and so sir William Hollys, the lord mayor, rode with the lord Parr,¹ being youngest baron. Then followed the bishops, apparelled in black satin, after them the earls; then duke Philip of Bavaria, count palatine of the Rhine (who was the suitor of the princess Mary), richly apparelled, with the livery of the Toison or Golden Fleece about his neck; then the ambassadors of the emperor and the king of France, the lord chancellor, with the other great state-officers, and Garter king-at-arms. These lords were, for the most part, arrayed in purple velvet, and the marquess of Dorset, in the same livery, bore the king's sword of state. After him, but at a good distance, came the king, mounted on a goodly courser, trapped in rich cloth of gold, traversed all over, lattice-wise, with gold embroidery, pearled on every side of the embroidery: the buckles and pendants were all of fine gold.² The king was apparelled in a coat

ument in the Harleian and Cottonian MSS., entitled "Reception of the Lady Anna of Cleves at Calais," edited by John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A. Printed with the Chronicle of Calais by the Camden Society.

¹ Katharine Parr's uncle.

² Hall's Chronicle, reprint, p. 834.

of purple velvet, made somewhat like a frock, all over embroidered with flat gold of damask, with small lace mixed between, traverse-wise, so that little of the ground appeared; about which garment was a rich guard, very curiously embroidered. The sleeves and breast were cut and lined with cloth of gold, and clasped with great buttons of diamonds, rubies, and orient pearls; his sword and girdle adorned with stones and *special* emeralds, his cap garnished with stones, but his bonnet was so rich of jewels that few men could value them." The royal bridegroom must certainly have intended to rival the king of diamonds in this gorgeous display. "Besides all this," continues Hall, whose loyal raptures increase with every additional jewel which he records as decorating bluff king Hal,—“besides all this, he wore a collar of such balas-rubies, and pearl, that few men ever saw the like; and about his person ran ten footmen, richly apparelled in goldsmiths' work. And notwithstanding that this rich apparel and precious jewels were pleasant to the nobles and all present to behold, yet his princely countenance, his goodly personage and royal gesture, so far exceeded all other creatures present, that, in comparison of his person, all his rich apparel was little esteemed. After him followed his lord chamberlain; then came sir Anthony Browne, master of his horse, a goodly gentleman of comely personage, well mounted and richly apparelled, leading the king's horse of estate by a long rein of gold, which horse was trapped in manner like a barb, with crimson velvet and satin, all over embroidered with gold after an antique fashion, very curiously wrought. Then followed the pages of honor, in coats of rich tinsel and crimson velvet paled, riding on great coursers, all trapped in crimson velvet embroidered with new devices and knots of gold, which were both pleasant and comely to behold. Then follow edsir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard; then the guard, well mounted and in rich coats. In this order the king rode to the last end of the rank, where the spears and pensioners stood, and there every person that came with the king placed himself on one side or the other, the king standing in the midst.

"When her grace was advertised of the king's coming, she issued out of her tent, being apparelled in a rich gown of cloth of gold raised, made round, without any train, after the Dutch fashion; and on her head a caul, and over that a round bonnet or cap, set full of orient pearl, of very proper fashion; and before that, she had a cornet of black velvet, and about her neck she had a partlet set full of rich stone, which glistened all the field. At the door of the tent she mounted on a fair horse, richly trapped with goldsmiths' work; and so were her footmen, who surrounded her, with the 'black lion'¹ embroidered, and on the shoulder a carbuncle set in gold; and so she marched towards the king, who, perceiving her approach, came forward somewhat beyond the cross on the heath,² and there paused a little in a fair place till she came nearer. Then he put off his bonnet, and came forward to her, and with most loving countenance and princely behavior saluted, welcomed, and embraced her, to the great rejoicing of the beholders; and she likewise, not forgetting her duty, with most amiable aspect and womanly behavior, received his grace with many sweet words, thanks, and great praises given him. While they were thus communing, the pensioners and guards departed to furnish the court and hall at Greenwich," that is, to commence forming the state pageant there against the arrival of the king and his betrothed.

When the king had conversed a little with the lady Anne, which must have been by means of an interpreter, "he put her on his right hand, and so with their footmen they rode as though they had been coupled together. Oh!" continues the enraptured chronicler, "what a sight was this, to see so goodly a prince and so noble a king to ride with so fair a lady, of so goodly a stature and so womanly a countenance, and, in especial, of so good qualities! I think no creature could see them but his heart rejoiced."³ Few, perhaps, of the spectators of this brave show imagined how deceptive a

¹ The armorial bearing of Hainault.

² This was the antique mound on Blackheath, once a Saxon tumulus, now crowned with a few stunted firs. The cross was there in the time of Charles II.

³ Hall's Chronicle, reprint, p. 835.

farce it was; nor does Hall, who was an eye-witness of all he describes, appear to have been in the slightest degree aware how false a part his sovereign was acting, or how hard a trial it must have been to that gayly-decorated victim, the bride, to smother all the struggling feelings of female pride and delicacy, to assume a sweet and loving demeanor towards the bloated tyrant by whom she had been so rudely scorned and depreciated. Certainly, Anne had the most reasonable cause for dissatisfaction of the two, when we consider that, if she were not quite so handsome as Holbein had represented her, she was a fine young woman of only four-and-twenty, who had been much admired in her own country. Henry was more than double her age, unwieldy and diseased in person, with a countenance stamped with all the traces of the sensual and cruel passions which deformed his mind. Thoughts of the broken heart of his first queen, the bloody scaffold of his second, and the early grave of his third consort could scarcely fail to occur appallingly to his luckless bride, when she perceived that she was already despised by her formidable spouse. What woman but would have shuddered at finding herself in Anne of Cleves's predicament?

Hall thus resumes his rich narrative:—"When the king and the lady Anne had met, and both their companies joined, they returned through the ranks of knights and squires which had remained stationary. First came her trumpets, twelve in number besides two kettle-drums, on horseback; next followed the king's trumpets, then the king's councillors, the gentlemen of the privy-chamber; then the gentlemen of her grace's country, in coats of velvet, riding on great horses; after them the mayor of London, in crimson velvet with a rich collar, coupled with the youngest baron; then all the barons, followed by the bishops; then the earls, with whom rode the earls of Waldeck and Overstein, Anne's countrymen. Then came the dukes, the archbishop of Canterbury, and duke Philip of Bavaria, followed by the ambassadors, the lord privy-seal, and the lord chancellor; then the lord marquess, with the king's sword. Next followed the king himself, riding with

his fair lady; behind him rode sir Anthony Browne, with the king's horse of estate; behind her rode sir John Dudley, master of her horse, leading her spare palfrey, trapped in rich tissue down to the ground. After them followed the lady Margaret Douglas, the lady marquess Dorset, the duchesses of Richmond and Suffolk, the countesses of Rutland and Hertford, and other countesses; next followed her grace's chariot."¹ This circumstance and the description of the equipage are worthy of attention with regard to the costume of the era. "The chariot was well carved and gilt, with the arms of her country curiously wrought and covered with cloth of gold: all the horses were trapped with black velvet, and on them rode pages of honor in coats of velvet; in the chariot rode two ancient ladies of her country. After the chariot followed six ladies and gentlewomen of her country, all richly apparelled with caps set with pearls and great chains of divers fashions, after the custom of their country, and with them rode six ladies of England, well 'beseen.' Then followed another chariot, gilt and furnished as the other was. Then came ten English ladies well apparelled. Next them another chariot, covered with black cloth; in that were four gentlewomen, her grace's chamberers: then followed all the remnant of the ladies, gentlewomen, and maidens, in great number, which did wear that day French hoods. After them came Anne's three washerwomen, launderers as they are called [we should never have thought of their having a place in the procession], in a chariot all covered with black; then a horse-litter, of cloth of gold of crimson velvet paled [striped], with horses trapped accordingly, which was a present from the king. Last of all came the serving-men of her train, all clothed in black, mounted on great Flemish horses."²

"In this order they rode through the ranks into the park, and at the late Friars' wall³ all men alighted, save the king, the two masters of the horse, and the henchmen, which rode to the hall-door, and the ladies rode to the court-gate.

¹ Hall's Chronicle.

² Ibid., 836.

³ Supposed to be that of the convent of the Observant-friars at Greenwich, which was situated close to the palace.

As they passed, they beheld from the wharf how the citizens of London were rowing up and down on the Thames, every craft in his barge garnished with banners, flags, streamers, pensils, and targets, some painted and blazoned with the king's arms, some with those of her grace, and some with the arms of their craft or mystery. Besides the barges of every craft or city company, there was a barge made like a ship, called the bachelors' bark, decked with pensils, and pennons of cloth of gold, and targets in great number, on which waited a foyst, that shot great pieces of artillery. In every barge were divers sorts of instruments, with men and children singing and playing in chorus as the king and the lady passed on the wharf, which sight and noises they much praised."

A splendid scene it must have been, that gorgeous cavalcade, extending from Blackheath, through the park to the water's edge, and the broad-bosomed Thames so gayly dight with the flags and gilded barges of the queen of merchant-cities, and all the aquatic pageantry which wealth and loyalty could devise to do honor to the sovereign's bride. But to return to her whose advent had given the citizens of London so proud a holiday, and filled the leafless bowers of Greenwich with unwonted animation at that wintry season of the year. "As soon as she and the king had alighted from their horses in the inner court, the king lovingly embraced her, and bade her 'welcome to her own;' then led her by the left arm through the hall, which was *furnished* below the hearth with the king's guard, and above the hearth with the fifty pensioners with their battle-axes, and so brought her up to her privy-chamber,¹ which was richly prepared for her reception." There Henry, eager to be released from the irksome part of playing the loving bridegroom and gracious sovereign, left her, and retired to give vent to his discontent in his own. He was attended by his anxious premier Cromwell, to whom he exclaimed, "How say you, my lord; is it not as I told you? Say what they

¹ Hall's Chronicle, 836. This etiquette of the stations of the royal guard is curious. The hearth was evidently in the middle of the hall at Greenwich palace.

will, she is nothing fair. Her person is well and seemly, but nothing else." The obsequious minister assented to the royal opinion,—nay, swore "by his faith, that his sovereign said right;" yet ventured to observe, by way of commendation, "that he thought she had a queenly manner withal." This Henry frankly allowed.¹ Cromwell lamented "that his grace was no better content," as well indeed he might, since his own ruin was decreed from that hour.

Though Henry had committed himself by his public reception of the lady, he commanded Cromwell to summon the council, and devise with them some pretext whereby he might excuse himself from fulfilling his engagement with Anne. The council met, and Osliger and Hostoden, the envoys of the duke of Cleves, just after assisting at the pompous ceremonial of the king of England's public welcome of their princess as his bride elect, found themselves called upon a second time to answer to a formal inquiry, in the name of that prince, if the said lady were not already the affianced wife of another? They appeared like men perplexed, and deferred their replies till the next day.²

Meantime, the crowd of spectators and the inferior actors in the state pageant dispersed, for which Hall tells us the signal was given by the mighty peal of guns that was shot from Greenwich tower when the king and queen entered the court together. Then all the horsemen broke their ranks, and had leave to depart to London, or to their lodgings. "To see how long it was or ever the horsemen could pass, and how late it was ere the footmen could get over London bridge," pursues he, "I assure you it was wondrous to behold."

When the lord chamberlain inquired of the king, "What day his majesty would be pleased to name for the coronation of the queen?"—"We will talk of that when I have made her my queen," was the ominous reply of the moody monarch.³ The next morning, Sunday, Cromwell came by the private way to Henry's private chamber, and informed

¹ King Henry's deposition of what passed between himself and Cromwell on the subject of the lady Anne of Cleves.—Haynes's *State-Papers*.

² Cromwell's deposition, in Burnet's *Hist. of Reformation*.

³ Leti.

him that the ambassadors of Cleves treated the idea of the pre-contract with contempt, and had offered to remain in prison as pledges for the arrival of the revocation of the spousalia. Henry was much annoyed at this intelligence, and exclaimed, "I am not well handled;"¹ adding, "if it were not that she is come so far into my realm, and the great preparations that my states and people have made for her, and for fear of making a ruffle in the world, and of driving her brother into the hands of the emperor and the French king, who are now together, I would not now marry her." After dinner, on the same Sunday, Henry sent for all his council, and repeated his favorite expression, "that he was not well handled about the contract with the prince of Lorraine," and required that Anne should make a solemn protestation that she was free from all pre-contracts. This she did in the presence of all his council and notaries. When Henry was informed by Cromwell that the lady had made the above protest in the most clear and positive terms, he repeated his first ungracious exclamation, "Is there, then, none other remedy, but I must needs against my will put my neck into the yoke." Cromwell escaped from the royal presence as quickly as he could, leaving his master in what he politely terms "a study or pensiveness;"² in other words, an access of sullen ill-humor, in which Henry remained till the Monday morning, when he declared "that it was his intention to go through with it," and directed that the nuptials should be solemnized on the following day, January 6th, being the Epiphany, or feast of kings, commonly called Twelfth-day, and set about preparing himself for the ceremonial. Short notice this for the bride, but her feelings had been outraged in every possible way.

Next came the question, Who should lead her to the altar? Two noblemen of her own court, the earl of Overstein and the grand-master Hostoden, had come to England with her expressly for that purpose, and to superintend all the arrangements for her marriage. Henry chose to associate the earl of Essex with the earl of Overstein in the honor of leading her. Then, as if to render everything as

¹ Cromwell's letter; Burnet, vol. i. p. 183.

² Ibid.

inconvenient as possible to the princess, he fixed the early hour of eight in the morning for the solemnity. The earl of Essex was not punctual to the time, on which Henry deputed Cromwell to take the office of conducting the bride, and sent him to her chamber for that purpose; but before Anne was ready Essex arrived. However reluctant the royal bridegroom was to fulfil his distasteful matrimonial engagement, he made his personal arrangements that morning with much greater speed than the bride, and had donned his wedding-garments so long before she was ready, that he thought proper to exercise his conjugal privilege beforehand by grumbling at having to wait. His bridal costume is thus described by Hall:—"His grace was apparelled in a gown of cloth of gold, raised with great flowers of silver, and furred with black jennettes. His coat, crimson satin, slashed and embroidered, and clasped with great diamonds, and a rich collar about his neck." In this array he entered his presence-chamber, and calling Cromwell to him, said, "My lord, if it were not to satisfy the world and my realm, I would not do what I must do this day for any earthly thing."¹ Then one of the officers of the household informed him the queen was ready. On which he, with his lords and officers of state, advanced into the gallery next the closets and there paused, and, with some expressions of displeasure that she was so long in coming, sent the lords to fetch the queen.

The tardy bride had endeavored, it should seem, to console herself for Henry's insulting demurs and discourtesies by taking her own time, and making a very elaborate and splendid toilette. She was dressed in a gown of rich cloth of gold, embroidered very thickly with great flowers of large oriental pearls. It was made round and without a train, after the Dutch fashion, which, it appears, was not admired in England. She wore her long luxuriant *yellow* hair flowing down her shoulders, and on her head a coronal of gold full of costly gems and set about with sprigs of rosemary, a herb of grace which was used by maidens both at weddings and funerals.² About her neck and waist she

¹ Cromwell's letter; Burnet.

² For *souvenance*; Kempe's Losely MSS.

wore jewels of great price.¹ Thus arrayed, Anne of Cleves came forth from her closet between the earl of Overstein and the earl of Essex, and, according to Hall, "with most demure countenance and sad [composed] behavior passed through the king's chamber." The lords went before her in procession, and when they reached the gallery where the king was, she greeted him with three low obeisances and courtesies. Then the archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer, received them, and married them together. The earl of Overstein gave Anne away: round her wedding-ring was inscribed,—

*God Send Me Weel to keepe.**

A more appropriate motto could scarcely have been chosen for a wife of Henry VIII. No doubt the poor queen had that prayer very often on her lips. When the nuptial rites were ended, the royal pair walked hand in hand into the king's closet, and there heard mass, and offered their tapers. After mass was over, they took wine and spices;² then the king departed to his chamber, and all the ladies attended the queen to her chamber, the duke of Norfolk walking on her right hand, the duke of Suffolk on her left.

Brief was the repose that was allowed her there, ere she was summoned to attend another mass; for we find that "the king, in a gown of rich tissue, lined with crimson velvet, embroidered, came to his closet, and she, in the same dress in which she was married, came to her closet, with her serjeant-of-arms and all her officers before her, like a queen. And the king and she went openly in procession, and offered and dined together. After dinner," continues our authority, "the queen changed into a dress made like a man's gown, of tissue, with long sleeves, girt to her, and furred with rich sables. Her under sleeves were very costly. On her head she wore such a cap as on the preceding Saturday, with a cornet of lawn, which cap was so rich of pearls and gems that it was judged to be of great value."⁴ Her ladies and gentlemen were apparelled very richly, after her

¹ Hall.

² *Ibid.*, p. 836.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 837.

fashion," which, from Marillac's report, we have seen was not the most becoming in the world. They were all decorated with rich chains. In the dress just described, our Lutheran queen Anne accompanied her lord to even-song, as she had in the morning to mass, and afterwards supped with him. "After supper were banquets, masks, and divers disports, till the time came that it pleased the king and her to take their rest."

Henry's countenance bore a more portentous aspect on the morrow, and when his trembling premier, Cromwell, entered his presence to pay his duty, he received him with a frown, and angrily reproached him for having persuaded him to a marriage so repugnant to his taste. Solemn jousts were, nevertheless, kept in honor of the royal nuptials on the Sunday, which much pleased the foreigners. "On that day," continues Hall, "the queen was apparelled, after the English fashion, with a French hood, which so set forth her beauty and good visage that every creature rejoiced to behold her." Not a word does the courtier-like chronicler relate of the king's ill-humor, or of his contempt for his new queen. Another contemporary historian, who is evidently an admirer of Anne, quaintly observes, "Well; it pleased his highness to dislike her grace, but to me she always appeared a brave lady." The only allusion Henry was ever known to make to his beautiful and once idolized queen Anne Boleyn after her murder was in one of his bursts of contempt for her more homely namesake. The little princess Elizabeth having made suit by her governess to be allowed to come and pay the duty of a daughter to the new queen, whom she had the most ardent desire to see, "Tell her," was the reply, "that she had a mother so different from this woman, that she ought not to wish to see her."¹ Elizabeth addressed a very pretty letter to her royal step-mother to excuse her absence.

The reports of her contemporaries vary so greatly as to the personal characteristics of this queen, that an exact description of her appearance, from the original pencil-sketch among the Holbein heads in her majesty's collection

¹ Hall, p. 837.

at Windsor, may not be uninteresting to the reader. The sketch was probably taken after her arrival in England, and, though unfinished, it is a very fine specimen of art. There is a moral and intellectual beauty in the expression of the face, though the nose and mouth are large and somewhat coarse in their formation. Her forehead is lofty, expansive, and serene, indicative of candor and talent. The eyes large, dark, and reflective. They are thickly fringed, both on the upper and lower lids, with long black lashes. Her eyebrows are black and finely marked. Her hair, which is also black,¹ is parted, and plainly folded on either side the face in bands, extending, as in the present fashion, below the ears,—a style that seems peculiarly suitable to the calm and dignified composure of her countenance. Nothing, however, can be more unbecoming than her dress, which is a close-fitting gown, with a stiff high collar like a man's coat, and tight sleeves. The bodice opens a little in front, and displays a chemisette, drawn up to the throat with a narrow ribbon, and ornamented on one side with a brooch in the form of a Katherine-wheel, placed very high. She wears a large Amazonian-looking hat, turned boldly up in front, not in the Spanish but the Dutch fashion, decorated with *quatre-feuilles* of gems. Such a head-dress would have been trying even to a soft and feminine style of beauty, but the effect on the large, decided features of this queen is very unfortunate. Anne of Cleves appears to have had the most splendid wardrobe of all Henry's queens, but the worst taste in dress.

Anne was conducted, on the 4th of February, by the king and his ministers by water to the palace of Westminster, which had been magnificently prepared for her reception. They were attended on their voyage up the Thames by many peers and prelates in state barges, gayly emblazoned and adorned. The mayor and aldermen of London, in their scarlet robes, gave attendance;² also with twelve of the

¹ Hall, we have seen, describes her with yellow tresses, which were certainly false hair, and must have been singularly unbecoming to a brunette. All her portraits represent her not only with black hair, but with very black eyes.

² Hall, p. 837.

principal city companies, in barges, garnished with pennons, banners, and targets, with rich awnings and bands of music within, which, according to the chronicler, "was being replenished with minstrelsy." All the way up the river the ships saluted the royal barge as it passed, and a mighty peal was fired from the great Tower guns in goodly order, to greet and welcome the sovereign and his bride.¹

Henry VIII.'s whim of entwining his initials with those of a new wife is apparent even during the ephemeral queenship of Anne of Cleves. Several medallions are still remaining in the ceiling of the chapel-royal in St. James's palace with the letters **H A**, garnished with the true-love knots which Anne Boleyn had found so false and evanescent when he invented that device to testify his devotion to her. The date, 1540, within these medallions, identifies them as having been enamelled during the brief reign of Anne of Cleves. Similar medallions, with the same initials, appear in the tapestried chamber at St. James's, in the carving over the chimney-piece.

When the earl of Overstein, and other nobles and ladies who had attended Anne to England, had been honorably feasted and entertained by Henry and his magnates, they received handsome presents, both in money and plate, and returned to their own country. The earl of Waldeck, and some other gentlemen and ladies, with the Dutch maids of honor, remained with her till she became better acquainted with the English people and language. It is evident that mistress Lowe, the sage *gouvernante* of the *Dutch maids* (as Anne's Flemish maids were styled), was regarded by the English courtiers as the channel through which all places and preferments in the household of the new queen were to flow. The countess of Rutland, to whom that painstaking matron, lady Lisle, sent the noble present of a pipe of Gascon wine and two barrels of herrings, to purchase her good offices in obtaining her daughter Katharine Basset's appointment as a maid of honor to the queen, gives her the following hints:—

¹ Hall, p. 837.

"And whereas you be very desirous to have your daughter, mistress Basset, to be one of the queen's grace's maids, and that you would that I should move her grace in that behalf; these shall be to let your ladyship know that I perceive right well the king's pleasure to be such, that no more maids shall be taken in until such time as some of them that be now with the queen's grace be preferred [meaning, till they were married]. Albeit, if you will make some means unto mother Lowe, who can do as much good in this matter as any one woman here, that she may make some means to get your said daughter with the queen's said grace; and in so doing, I think you shall obtain your purpose in every behalf."¹

The same day the young candidate for this much-desired appointment, who was residing in lady Rutland's family, wrote herself to her mother a confidential letter on this subject, which we insert as affording a curious illustration of the manners, customs, and narrow means of some of the young ladies of the court of Henry VIII.

"MADAME:—

"In my humble wise, my duty done to your ladyship, certifying your ladyship that my lord of Rutland and my lady be in good health, and hath them heartily commended to your ladyship, thanking you for your wine and your herring that you sent them. Madame, my lady hath given me a gown of Kaffa damask, of her own old wearing, and that she would in no wise that I should refuse it; and I have spoken to Mr. Husse for a roll of buckram to new line it, and velvet to edge it withal. Madame, I humbly beseech your ladyship to be good lady and mother to me, for my lady of Rutland said that mother Lowe, *the mother of the Dutch maids*, may do much for my preferment with the queen's highness, so that your ladyship would send her my good token² that she may the better remember me, trusting that your ladyship would be good lady to me in this behalf. Madame, I have received of Ravenforde two crowns, for which I humbly thank your ladyship. I do lack a ketyll [suppose kirtle] for every day; I beseech your ladyship that I may have it: and I desire your ladyship that I may be humbly recommended to my lord and to my sisters. Madame, my brother George is in good health, and in the court with sir Francis Bryan. And thus the Holy Ghost have you in his keeping, who send your ladyship good life and length to his pleasure. Written at York place, the 17th day of February, by your humble daughter,

"KATHARINE BASSET.

"To the right honorable and my very good Lady and Mother,
my Lady Lisle, be this delivered at Calais."

Anne Basset, the established maid of honor, who was a very fair, well-made, and graceful young gentlewoman, was

¹ Wood's Letters, from the Lisle Papers; State-Paper MSS.

² In the shape of a present to mother Lowe, as the price of her good offices in obtaining the place of maid of honor. Katharine Basset was in the service of the countess of Rutland, a lady of the blood-royal.

certainly placed in a perilous position by the very inconsiderate manner in which her worldly-minded mother contrived pretexts for throwing her in the king's way, by deputing her, when she presented her confections to him, to solicit gifts and preferments for her family. Perhaps lady Lisle flattered herself that fair mistress Anne Basset was as likely to win Henry's fatal love as either Anne Boleyn or Jane Seymour, her predecessors in the dangerous office of maid of honor to an unbeloved queen-consort. That the young lady possessed infinitely more prudence and delicacy than her coarse, manœuvring mother, the following passages in one of her letters affords interesting evidence:—

“MADAME:—

“I have presented your codiniac [quince-marmalade] to the king's highness, and his grace does like it wondrous well, and gave your ladyship hearty thanks for it. And whereas I perceived by your ladyship's letter, ‘that when the king's highness had tasted of your codiniac, you would have me to move his grace for to send you some token of remembrance, that you might know the better that his grace doth like your codiniac,’ by my troth, madame, I told his grace ‘that your ladyship was glad that you could make anything that his grace did like;’ and his grace made me answer, ‘that he did thank you with all his heart;’ and his grace commanded me ‘that Nicholas Eyre should speak with my father Heneage afore he went.’ Whether he will send your ladyship any token by him or no, I cannot tell; for, madame, I durst not be so bold to move his grace for it no other wise, for fear lest how his grace would have taken it: therefore I beseech your ladyship be not discontented with me. And whereas you do write to me that I should remember my sister, I have spoken to the king's highness for her; and his grace made me answer, ‘that master Bryan and divers other hath spoken to his grace for their friends.’ But he said, ‘he would not grant me nor them yet;’ for his grace said ‘that he would have them that should be fair, and as he thought meet for the room.’”

What other qualifications, in addition to personal beauty, the Tudor sultan deemed indispensable for his queen's future maids of honor to possess are not explained in this epistle. Perhaps Anne Basset feared her sister Katharine might not pass muster, or there was something in the royal manner that deterred her from pressing her suit, for she says:—

“Therefore, madame, I think if you did send to some of your friends that are about his grace to speak for her, or else I cannot tell what you *is* best to do in it, for I have done as much as I can.”

Two other favors which my lady Lisle expected her daughter to ask and the king to grant, in return for her pots of mar-

malade, the poor girl humbly but positively declines naming to their royal master. She says to her mother, in reply to her requisition to that effect:—

“And whereas you do write to me that I should speak for my lord’s matter, and for Bery’s son, I beseech your ladyship to hold me excused in that, for I dare not be so bold to move the king’s grace in no such matters, for fear how his grace would take it.”¹

Our young maid of honor concludes with this *naïve* confession of her lack of penmanship:—

“And whereas you do write to me that I do not write with mine own hand, the truth is that I cannot write nothing but mine own name; and as for that, when I had haste to go up to the queen’s chamber, my man did write it which doth write my [this] letter.”²

The fact that a letter full of family affairs, and relating to a matter of such extreme delicacy as a private conference between the fair inditer and her sovereign—that sovereign the ferocious tyrant Henry VIII.—was written by an amanuensis of servile degree, affords a curious illustration of the manners of the times, as well as a proof of the defective system on which the education of young ladies of rank was conducted in the middle of the sixteenth century. Yet the same age and country could boast of those illustrious female scholars, the daughters of sir Thomas More, queen Katharine Parr, lady Jane Gray, and the royal Tudor sisters Mary and Elizabeth. The scholastic attainments of the above accomplished ladies have frequently been cited as evidence of the superior degree of cultivation bestowed upon the gentlewomen of England at that period, but their names should rather be mentioned as forming very remarkable exceptions to the general ignorance in which their fair contemporaries were brought up. We shall have occasion, in the succeeding biography, to prove that Anne of Cleves was compelled to resign her nuptial ring and queenly dignity, to enable Henry VIII. to bestow those fatal distinctions on a young lady of noble birth,³ who possessed not a whit more clerkly skill than the unlearned maid of honor who could write nothing more than her own name.

¹ Wood’s Letters of Illustrious Ladies, vol. iii. p. 153.

² Ibid.

³ Queen Katharine Howard.

During the first few weeks after Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves, he treated her with an outward show of civility on all public occasions; and as long as they kept the same chamber, he was accustomed to say "Good-night, sweetheart!" and in the morning, when he left her apartment, "Farewell, darling!" These honeyed words, however, only covered increasing dislike, which, when he found there was no prospect of her bringing him a family, he openly expressed in the rudest terms. Even if Anne of Cleves had been gifted with those external charms requisite to please Henry's fastidious eye, her ignorance of the English language and of music, and, above all, her deficiency in that delicate tact which constitutes the real art of pleasing, would have prevented her from gaining on his affections. Henry had been used to the society of women of superior intellect and polished manners. Such had been Katharine of Arragon, such Anne Boleyn; and Jane Seymour, if she lacked the mental dignity of the first, or the genius and wit of the second, made up for both in the insinuating softness which was, no doubt, the true secret of her influence over Henry's mind. Anne of Cleves was no adept in the art of flattery, and, though really "of meek and gentle conditions," she did not humiliate herself meanly to the man from whom she had received so many unprovoked marks of contempt, and she ceased to behave with submissive complaisance. Henry then complained to Cromwell "that she waxed wilful and stubborn with him."¹

Anne required advice, and sent often to Cromwell, requesting a conference with him, but in vain. Cromwell knew he was in a perilous predicament, surrounded by spies and enemies, and, like the trembling vizier of some Eastern tyrant, who sees the fatal bowstring ready to be fitted to his neck, deemed that one false step would be his ruin: he positively refused to see the queen.² While Anne was tormented and perplexed by the persecutions of her unreasonable husband, terror was stricken into every heart by the execution of two of his nearest kinsmen, whom he relentlessly sent to the block on the 3d of March. One was

¹ Cromwell's letter; Burnet.

² Ibid.

the favorite companion of his youth, Courtenay marquess of Exeter, the son of his aunt Katherine Plantagenet; the other was Henry Pole, lord Montague, the son of Margaret Plantagenet, countess of Salisbury.¹ The offence for which they suffered was correspondence with Reginald Pole (afterwards the celebrated cardinal), whom Henry called his enemy. Anne's dower was settled according to the usual forms when parliament met, April 12th.² It seems remarkable that Henry, who from the first had declared "that he could not overcome his aversion to her sufficiently to consider her as his wife," should have permitted this legislative recognition of her rights as queen-consort of England.

On the 1st of May, and three succeeding days, a company of the knightly gallants of the court, among whom sir Thomas Seymour, the brother of the late queen Jane, sir John Dudley, and sir George Carew were the most distinguished, held jousts, tourney, and barrier at Durham house, all dressed in white velvet, in honor of the king's recent marriage with Anne of Cleves. Their majesties honored the pageant with their presence, and were honorably feasted and entertained by their bachelor hosts. This was the last time the king and queen appeared in public together. Wriothsley, the most unprincipled of the low-born parasites who rose to greatness by truckling to the lawless passions of the sovereign, prepared the way for the divorce by lamenting to the gentlemen of the privy-chamber and the council "the hard case in which the king's highness stood, in being bound to a wife whom he could not love,"³ and went on to suggest the expediency of emancipating the king from a wedlock that was so little to his taste. A gentleman of honor and feeling would rather have regarded the case of the injured queen with compassion, but Wriothsley was devoid of every generous sympathy; his conduct towards females in distress was always peculiarly cruel, as we shall have occasion to show in the memoirs of Katharine Howard and Katharine Parr. With ready instruments of wickedness like Wriothsley ever at hand, we almost cease to wonder at the atrocities that were perpetrated by Henry VIII. When

¹ Hall. Burnet. ² Tytler. Journals of Parl., 32d Henry VIII. ³ Strype.

the idea of a divorce had been once suggested to that lawless prince, the situation of his luckless queen was rendered insupportable to her. In addition to all his other causes of dissatisfaction, Henry now began to express scruples of conscience on the score of keeping a Lutheran for his wife.¹ Anne, who had been unremitting in her endeavors to conform herself to his wishes, by studying the English language and all things that were likely to please him, became weary of the attempt, and was at length piqued into telling him, that "If she had not been compelled to marry him, she might have fulfilled her engagement with another, to whom she had promised her hand."² It is just possible that, under the provocations she had endured, she might add, 'a younger and more amiable prince, whom she would have preferred had she been left to her own choice.' Henry only waited for this; for though he had lived with Anne between four and five months, he had never, as he shamelessly acknowledged, intended to retain her permanently as his wife, especially as there was no prospect of her bringing him a family. It was the peculiar wickedness of Henry that he always added calumny to faithlessness when he designed to rid himself of a lawful wife. In the present instance, not contented with disparaging the person and manners of the ill-treated princess of Cleves, he basely impugned her honor, as if she had not been a virtuous woman when he received her hand.³ Every one about him was aware of his motives in uttering these slanders, which were designed to terrify the queen into consenting to a dissolution of her marriage. Her situation was rendered more wretched by the dismissal of her foreign attendants, whose places were supplied by English ladies appointed by the king.

When the *straunge* maidens, as the Flemish maids of honor were called, were about to depart, and the queen's chamberlain applied to Cromwell for their safe-conduct, the cautious minister, who had carefully kept aloof from the slightest communication with Anne or her household, availed himself of this opportunity of sending a secret warning to

¹ Moreri. De Thou.

² Moreri. Du Chesne. De Thou.

³ Burnet. Herbert. State-Papers.

his royal mistress "of the expediency of doing her utmost to render herself more agreeable to the king."¹ Anne acted upon the hint, but without any sort of judgment, for she altered her cold and reserved deportment into an appearance of fondness which, being altogether inconsistent with her feelings, was anything but attractive. Henry, knowing that it was impossible she could entertain affection for him, attributed the change in her manner to the representations of Cromwell, to whom he had confided his intentions of obtaining a divorce; and this suspicion aggravated the hatred he had conceived against him for having been the means of drawing him into the marriage. Henry had recently become deeply enamoured of the young and beautiful Katharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, and passionately desired to make her his wife. The leaders of the Roman Catholic party were eager to secure the twofold triumphs of obtaining a queen of their own way of thinking, and effecting the downfall of their great enemy, Cromwell. There is every reason to believe that the death of his unpopular favorite was decreed by Henry himself at the very time when, to mask his deadly purpose, he bestowed upon him the honors and estates of his deceased kinsman, Bourchier earl of Essex. The fact was, he had a business to accomplish, for which he required a tool who would not be deterred by the nice feelings of a gentleman of honor from working his will. This was the attainder of two ladies allied, one by blood, the other by marriage, to the royal line of Plantagenet,—Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, the widow of one of his kindred victims, and Margaret countess of Salisbury, the mother of the other.

Cromwell produced in the house of lords, May 10th, by way of evidence against the aged countess of Salisbury, a vestment of white silk that had been found in her wardrobe, embroidered in front with the arms of England, surrounded with a wreath of pansies and marigolds, and on the back the representation of the Host, with the five wounds of our Lord, and the name of Jesus written in the midst. The peers permitted the unprincipled minister to persuade them

¹ Cromwell's letters; Burnet. Rapin.

that this was a treasonable ensign ; and as the countess had corresponded with her absent son, she was, for no other crime, attainted of high treason and condemned to death, without the privilege of being heard in her own defence.¹ The marchioness of Exeter was also attainted and condemned to death by the same violation of the laws of England. Both ladies were, meantime, confined in the Tower. The lords, indeed, hesitated, for the case was without precedent ; but Cromwell sent for the judges to his own house, and asked them "whether the parliament had a power to condemn persons accused without a hearing?" The judges replied,² "That it was a nice and dangerous question, for law and equity required that no one should be condemned unheard ; but the parliament being the highest court of the realm, its decisions could not be disputed." When Cromwell, by reporting this answer in the house, satisfied the peers that they had the power of committing a great iniquity if they chose to do so, they obliged the king by passing the bill, which established a precedent for all the other murders that were perpetrated in this reign of terror. As an awful instance of retributive justice, be it recorded that Cromwell was himself the first person who was slain by the tremendous weapon of despotism with which, like a traitor to his country, he had furnished the most merciless tyrant that ever wore the English crown.

Exactly one month after this villany, Cromwell was arrested by the duke of Norfolk at the council-board, and sent to the Tower by the command of the king ; who, like a master-fiend, had waited till his slave had filled up the full measure of his guilt before he executed his vengeance upon him. Another victim, but a blameless one, was also selected by Henry to pay the penalty of his life for having been instrumental in his marriage with Anne of Cleves ; this was the pious and learned Dr. Barnes, whom the queen had greatly patronized, but was unable to preserve from the stake.³ Her own reign was drawing to a close. A few days

¹ Lingard. Tytler. Herbert. Burnet. Journals of Parliament.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. pp. 143, 144. Rapin. Lingard. Herbert.

³ Rapin. Burnet. Lingard.

after Cromwell's arrest she was sent to Richmond, under pretence that her health required change of air. Marillac, in a letter to Francis I., dated June 23d, thus alludes to the reports to which this circumstance had given rise:—"There is a talk of some diminution of love, and a new affection for another lady. The queen has been sent to Richmond. This I know, that the king, who promised in two days to follow her, has not done so, and does not seem likely to do so, for the road of his progress does not lead that way. Now it is said in the court, that the said lady has left on account of the plague, which is in this city, which is not true; for if there had been any suspicion of the kind, the king would not have remained on any business, however important, for he is the most timid person in the world in such cases."¹ The removal of Anne was the preliminary step to the divorce, for which Henry was now impatient. The particulars of this transaction, as they appear on the journals of the house of lords, afford revolting proofs of the slavish and degrading manner in which Henry's privy council and prelates rendered themselves accomplices in his injustice and breach of faith to his wedded wife and their queen. The ignoble submission of the peers to the caprices of the lawless tyrant kept pace with the disgusting proceedings of his personal abettors in his iniquities. The commons only acted as the echo of the lords. As for that right-feeling and uncorrupted body of his subjects,—the people, they had no means of information, and it pertained not to them to redress the injustice of their sovereign to his wives or daughters. The lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Durham, stated to the house, July 6th, "that they having doubts of the validity of the marriage between the king and queen, to which they had been instrumental, and as the succession to the crown was, or might be, affected, it was highly necessary that its legality should be investigated by a convocation of the clergy." A petition that the king would permit this to be done was instantly got up, and presented to the sovereign by both houses of parliament.

¹ *Dépêches de Marillac; Bibliothèque du Roi.*

Henry was graciously pleased to reply, "that he could refuse nothing to the estates of the realm, and was ready to answer any questions that might be put to him; for he had no other object in view but the glory of God, the welfare of the realm, and the triumph of the truth."¹

The matter was brought before the convocation on the following day, and the clergy referred it to a committee, consisting of the two archbishops, four bishops, and eight divines. The reasons alleged for releasing the sovereign from his matrimonial bonds with his queen were as follows:—"1st, That she was precontracted to the prince of Lorraine. 2dly, That the king, having espoused her against his will, had not given an inward consent to his marriage, which he had never completed; and that the whole nation had a great interest in the king's having more issue, which they saw he could never have by this queen."² Many witnesses were examined, as the lords in waiting, gentlemen of the king's chamber, and the queen's ladies. The countess of Rutland, lady Edgecomb, and the infamous lady Rochford, bent on pleasing the king, deposed many things very unbecoming of ladies of their rank to say, which they affirmed the queen had told them, as evidence of the nullity of the contract. They had presumed, it seems, to ask many impertinent questions of their royal mistress, and among others, "If she had acquainted mother Lowe, her confidential attendant and countrywoman, of the king's neglect?" Anne replied in the negative, and said that "she received quite as much of his majesty's attention as she wished."²

Henry encouraged the ladies of the bedchamber to mimic and ridicule their royal mistress for his amusement, although it was impossible for any one to conduct herself with greater dignity and forbearance under the trying circumstances than she did, while his unprincely follies were rendering him the laughing-stock of Europe. His greatest enemy would have found it difficult to place his conduct towards his fourth queen in a more unmanly and dishonorable light than the account he gives of it in his deposition, which he

¹ Journals of Parliament, 32d Henry VIII.

² Burnet. Collier. Strype.

³ Strype's Memorials.

styles his "brief, true, and perfect declaration:"—"I had heard," says he, "much, both of her excellent beauty and virtuous conditions. But when I saw her at Rochester, it rejoiced my heart that I had kept me free from making any pact or bond with her till I saw her myself; for then, I *adsure* you, I liked her so ill, and so far contrary to that she was praised, that I was woe that ever she came to England, and deliberated with myself, that if it were possible to find means to break off, I would never enter yoke with her. Of which misliking the Flemish great master [Hostoden], the admiral that now is [Southampton], and the master of the horse can and will here record. Then, after my repair to Greenwich the next day after, I think, and doubt not, but that lord Essex [Cromwell], well examined, can and will, and hath declared, what I then said to him in that case; for, as he is a person which knoweth himself condemned by act of parliament, he will not damn his soul, but truly declare the truth, not only at the time spoken by me, but also continually till the day of marriage, and also many times after, whereby my lack of consent, I doubt not, doth or shall well appear."¹ The document² from which this abstract is taken, is certainly in coarseness of expression without parallel, and affords a characteristic specimen of the brutality of Henry's manners and language.

The convocation of the clergy, without one dissentient voice, pronounced the marriage to be null and void, June 9th, and that both parties were free to marry again. The next day, archbishop Cranmer reported to the house of lords this sentence, in Latin and English, and delivered the documents attesting it, which were sent to the commons. A bill to invalidate the marriage was twice read, and passed unanimously, July 13th, being only the eighth day from the commencement of the whole business.³ Cranmer, who had pronounced the nuptial benediction, had the mortifying

¹ The fallen favorite, to whom Henry appeals as a witness of the truth of his asseverations, gave a written confirmation of the sovereign's statement in a letter, in which he, with great truth, subscribes himself his "poor slave."

² Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. Records, 185.

³ Journals of Parliament. Burnet. Rapin. Herbert.

office of dissolving the marriage,—Anne of Cleves being the third queen from whom it had been his hard lot to divorce the king in less than seven years. Well might one of the French ambassadors say of Henry, “He is a marvellous man, and has marvellous people about him.”¹ The queen, being a stranger to the English laws and customs, was spared the trouble of appearing before the convocation, either personally or by her advocates.

When all things had been definitely arranged according to the king’s pleasure, Suffolk, Southampton, and Wriothesley were appointed by him to proceed to Richmond, for the purpose of signifying his determination to the queen and obtaining her assent. Scarcely had the commissioners commenced their explanation, when the terrified queen, fancying, no doubt, that their errand was to conduct her to the Tower, gave instant acquiescence. So powerfully were the feminine terrors of the poor queen excited on this occasion, that she fainted and fell to the ground before the commissioners could explain the true purport of their errand.² When she was sufficiently recovered to attend to them, they soothed her with flattering professions of the king’s gracious intention of adopting her for a sister if she would resign the title of queen; promising the queen that she should have precedence before every lady in the court, except his daughters and his future consort, and that she should be endowed with estates to the value of 3000*l.* a year.³ Anne was greatly relieved when she understood the real nature of the king’s intention, and she expressed her willingness to resign her joyless honors with an alacrity for which he was not prepared.

The enduring constancy of the injured Katharine of Arragon, the only woman who ever loved him, had taught Henry to regard himself as a person so supremely precious, that he certainly did not expect his present queen to give him up without a struggle. Even when she, in compliance with the advice of the commissioners, wrote, or rather, we should say, subscribed a most obliging letter to him,⁴ ex-

¹ In a letter to Francis I., in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

² Herbert. Lingard. State-Papers.

³ Ibid. Burnet. Rapon.

⁴ The letter, which may be seen at full length in the collection of State-Papers

pressing her full acquiescence in his pleasure, he could not believe she really meant thus lightly to part from him. He next wrote to the members of his privy council, whose president was his brother-in-law, the duke of Suffolk, desiring them to consider "whether they should further press the lady Anne to write to her brother or no." However, before he concludes the letter, he determines that point himself:—"We have resolved that it is requisite ye should now, before your departure, procure both the writing of such a letter to her brother, and also the letter before written to us in English, subscribed with her hand, to be by her written in Dutch, to the intent that all things might more clearly appear to him. And," continues this gracious specimen of a royal husband, "concerning these letters to her brother, how well soever she speaketh now, with promises to abandon the *condition* [caprices] of a woman and evermore to remain constant in her proceedings, we think good, nevertheless, rather by good ways and means to prevent that she should not play the woman (though she would), than to depend upon her promise. Nor after she hath felt, at our hand, all gratuity and kindness, and known our liberality towards her in what she requireth, to leave her at liberty, upon the receipt of her brother's letters, to gather more stomach and stubbornness than were expedient. So that if her brother, upon desperation of us, should write to her in such wise as she might fondly take to heart, and fancy to swerve from her conformity, all our gentle handling of her should, in such case, be frustrate, and only serve her for the maintenance of such conceit as she might take in that behalf, and that she should not play the woman though she would. Therefore our pleasure is, that ye travail with her to write a letter to her brother directly, with other sentences, agreeably to the minutes which we send you

printed by authority of government, concludes in these words:—"Thus, most gracious prince, I beseech our Lord God to send your majesty long life and good health, to God's glory, your own honor, and the wealth of this noble realm. From Richmond, the 11th day of July, the 32d year of your majesty's most noble reign.

"Your majesty's most humble sister and servant,
"ANNA, of CLEVES."

herewith, as near as ye can. For persuading her thereto, ye may say, that considering she hath so honorably and virtuously proceeded hitherto, whereby she hath procured herself much love, favor, and reputation, it shall be well done if she advertises her brother of all things, as he may demean himself wisely, temperately, and moderately in the affair, not giving ear to tales and *bruits* [reports]. Unless these letters be obtained, all *shall* [will] remain uncertain upon a woman's promise,—viz., that she will be no woman,—the accomplishment whereof, on her behalf, is as difficult in the refraining of a woman's will, upon occasion, as in changing her womanish nature, which is impossible.”¹

And thus did this tyrannical self-deceiver, while in the very act of manifesting the most absurd caprice that any despot could perpetrate, reflect on the constancy of the female sex,—the most wayward and weak of whom could scarcely vie with him in fickleness and folly. “Ye may say to her,” he concludes, “for her comfort, that howsoever her brother may conduct himself, or her other friends, she (continuing in her uniformity) shall never fare the worse for their faults. Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 13th of July, the 32d year of our reign.” In three days, Anne, or her advisers, addressed the following letter to Henry:—

“Most excellent and noble Prince, and my most benign and good Brother, I do most humbly thank you for your great goodness, favor, and liberality, which as well by your majesty's own letters as by the report and declaration of your councillors, the lord great-master, the lord privy-seal, and your grace's secretary, I perceive it hath pleased you to determine towards me. Whereunto I have no more to answer, but that I shall ever remain your majesty's most humble sister and servant.”²

The duke of Suffolk, Henry's ready tool in all his matrimonial tyrannies, and his coadjutors, lord Southampton and sir Thomas Wriothesley, the king's secretary, in their recital of what passed between themselves and the queen at Richmond, take great credit to themselves for having prevailed on her to subscribe herself the king's sister instead of his wife. Part of their business was to deliver

¹ State-Papers.

² Ibid., vol. i. pp. 641, 642.

to her five hundred marks in gold, as a token from the king, being, in fact, the first instalment of her retiring pension, as his unqueened consort and discharged wife. Anne, having been kept without money, thankfully and meekly received this supply without checking the mortifying conditions on which it was proffered. She evidently esteemed herself a happy woman to escape from her painful nuptial bonds with Henry without the loss of her head, and in token that she was quite as willing to be rid of him as he could be to cast her off, she cheerfully drew her wedding-ring from her finger and sent it back to him, together with a complaisant letter in German, the substance of which was explained by the commissioners to their royal master. The same persons came again to Richmond, July 17th, and executed the king's warrant for breaking up Anne's household as queen of England, by discharging all the ladies and officers of state who had been sworn to serve her as their queen, and introducing those who had been chosen by himself to form her establishment as the lady Anne of Cleves, in her new character of his adopted sister.

Anne submitted to everything with a good grace, and, according to the report of the royal commissioners, "she took her leave openly of such as departed, and welcomed very gently her new servants at that time presented to her by them," although she had not been allowed the privilege of selecting them for herself. She was even so complaisant as to profess herself under great obligations to the king's majesty, and that she was determined to submit herself wholly to repose in his goodness, and this of her own free will, without any prompting from the commissioners, if we may venture to rely on the account dressed up by them to please the unprincipled despot, whose thirst for flattery was so unreasonable as to lead him to expect his victims to thank him very humbly for the injuries he was pleased to inflict upon them in the gratification of his selfish tyranny. The following expressions, which in their report are put into the queen's mouth, are certainly not her phraseology, but that of Henry's amiable secretary, Wriothesley, as a sort of approbative answer in her name to Henry's letter to

the privy council, before quoted, touching the mutations and caprices of her sex; for she is made to declare that "she would be found no woman by inconstancy and mutability, though all the world should move her to the contrary, neither for her mother, brother, or none other person living;" adding, "that she would receive no letters nor message from her brother, her mother, nor none of her kin and friends, but she would send them to the king's majesty, and be guided by his determination."¹ This was the part which Henry and his agents had endeavored to intimidate his first ill-treated consort, Katharine of Arragon, into playing, but Anne of Cleves was placed in a very different position. She had no child to compromise by her submission, no jealous affection for a husband to struggle with, after twenty years of faithful companionship; neither had she a friend to support or counsel her in so difficult a position. Her contempt for Henry's character must at least have equalled his dislike of her person, and she apparently considered herself cheaply rid of a husband like him, even at the sacrifice of resigning the name and rank of his queen.

Henry was so well pleased at the restoration of the nuptial ring and the obliging demeanor of his discarded queen, that he despatched his commissioners to her again to present unto her "certain things of great value and richness which his grace then gave to her; and also to show to her letters which his majesty had received from the duke her brother, and also from the bishop of Bath, ambassador from England, then resident at the court of the duke of Cleves: which letters being opened and read, she gave most humble thanks to the king's majesty that it pleased him to communicate the same to her. And as, from a part of the English ambassador's letter, there appeared as if doubts had arisen in the minds of the duke of Cleves and Osliger his minister as to whether the lady Anne were well treated, she wrote a letter to her brother in her own language; and had a nephew of Osliger's, then in king Henry's service, called in, and told him, before the said duke, earl, and sir Thomas, to make her hearty commendations to her brother, and to

¹ State-Paper Records, *temp.* Henry VIII.

signify to him that she was *merry* [cheerful], and honorably treated, and had written her full and whole mind to him in all things. And this," continues our authority, "she did with such alacrity, pleasant gesture and countenance, as he [young Osliger] which saw it may well testify that he found her not discontented." To the care of this Flemish youth was deputed the conveyance of Anne's letter to her brother, from which the following are extracts:—

"MY DEAR AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER:—

"After my most hearty commendation: Whereas, by your letters of the 13th of this month, which I have seen, written to the king's majesty of England, my most dear and most kind brother, I do perceive you take the matter lately moved and determined between him and me somewhat to heart. Forasmuch as I had rather ye knew the truth by mine advertisement, than for want thereof ye should be deceived by vain reports, I thought *mete* to write these present letters to you; by the which it shall please you to understand how the nobles and commons of this realm desired the king's highness to commit the examination of the matter of marriage between his majesty and me to the determination of the holy clergy of this realm. I did then willingly consent thereto; and since their determination made, have also, upon intimation of their proceedings, allowed, approved, and agreed to the same."

She then explains, at some length, that she has consented to become the king's adopted sister, who has provided for her as such. She desires her good mother to be informed of the arrangement, and requests that no interruption may take place in the political alliance between England and her native country. Her concluding words are, "God willing, I purpose to lead my life in this realm. ANNA, duchess born of Cleves, Gulick, Geldre, and Berg, and your loving sister."¹ After she had dined, Anne further declared, "that she neither would, nor justly might, hereafter repute herself as his grace's wife, or in anywise vary from what she had said and written; and again declared she had returned his majesty the ring delivered to her at her *pretenced* marriage, with her most humble commendations."²

Another letter from Anne to her brother is preserved. It is without date, but evidently written at the same period as the preceding; and, from the concluding sentence, it is easy to perceive she dreaded that the slightest interference from her continental friends would imperil her life:—

¹ State-Papers, vol. i. p. 643.

² Ibid.

“BROTHER :—

“Because I had rather ye knew the truth by mine advertisement, than for want thereof be deceived by false reports, I write these present letters to you, by which ye shall understand that, being advertised how the nobles and commons of this realm desired the king’s highness here to commit the examination of the matter of marriage between me and his majesty to the determination of the clergy, I did the more willingly consent thereto; and since the determination made, have also allowed, approved, and agreed unto the same, wherein I have more respect (as becometh me) to truth and good pleasure, than any worldly affection that might move me to the contrary.

“I account God pleased with what is done, and know myself to have suffered no wrong or injury, my person being preserved in the integrity which I brought into this realm, and I truly discharged from all bond of consent. I find the king’s highness, whom I cannot justly have as my husband, to be, nevertheless, a most kind, loving, and friendly father and brother, and to use me as honorably and with as much liberality as you, I myself, or any of our kin or allies could wish; wherein I am, for mine own part, so well content and satisfied that I much desire my mother, you, and other mine allies, so to understand, accept, and take it, and so to use yourself towards this noble and virtuous prince, as he may have cause to continue his friendship towards you, which on his behalf shall nothing be impaired or altered in this matter; for so it hath pleased his highness to signify to me, that like as he will show to me always a most fatherly and brotherly kindness, and has so provided for me, so will he remain with you and other according to the knot of amity which between you hath been concluded (this matter notwithstanding), in such wise as neither I, ne you, nor any of our friends shall have just cause of discontentment.

“Thus much I have thought necessary to write to you, lest, for want of true knowledge, ye might take this matter otherwise than ye ought, and in other sort care for me more than ye have cause. *Only I require this of you,—that ye so conduct yourself, as for your untowardness in this matter I fare not the worse, whereunto I trust you will have regard.*”¹

Thus we see that Anne was, in effect, detained by Henry as a hostage for the conduct of her brother and his allies, for she plainly intimates that any hostility from them will be visited on her head. Marillac, in relating this transaction to the king his master, in a letter dated July 21st, says :—
“The marriage has been dissolved, and the queen appears to make no objection. The only answer her brother’s ambassador can get from her is, ‘that she wishes in all things to please the king, her lord,’ bearing testimony of his good treatment of her, and desiring to remain in this country. This being reported to the king, makes him show her the greater respect. He gives her the palace of Richmond and other places for life, with 12,000 crowns for her revenue;

¹ State-Papers, vol. i.

but has forbidden the vicars and ministers to call her queen any more, but only 'my lady Anne of Cleves,' which is cause of great regret to the people, whose love she had gained, and who esteemed her as one of the most sweet, gracious, and humane queens they have had, and they greatly desired her to continue with them as their queen. Now it is said that the king is going to marry a young lady of extraordinary beauty, a daughter of a deceased brother of the duke of Norfolk,—it is even reported that this marriage has already taken place, only it is kept secret: I cannot say if it is true. The queen takes it all in good part." This certainly was her best policy, as his excellency seems to think. In less than a fortnight after Henry had dissolved his marriage with Anne of Cleves, he sent Cromwell to the block and consigned Dr. Barnes to the flames in Smithfield.¹ The divorced queen had reason to congratulate herself that she had escaped with life, when she saw what was the doom of the two principal agents in her late marriage.

There are in Rymer's *Fœdera*² two patents subsequent to the divorce, which relate to this lady. The former, dated 9th January, 1541, is a grant of naturalization in the usual form; in the other, she is described as Anna of Cleve, etc., who had come into England on a treaty of marriage, which, although celebrated in the face of the church, yet never received a real consummation, because the conditions were not fulfilled in due time. That the marriage was therefore dissolved by mutual consent, and she being content to abide in this realm, and to yield to its laws, and to discharge her conscience of that pretended marriage, the king, of his especial favor, granted to her certain manors and estates in divers counties, lately forfeited by the attainder of the earl of Essex³ and sir Nicholas Carew, to be held, without rendering account, from the Lady-day foregoing the said grant, which was dated on the 20th of January, 1541. These estates were granted to her on condition that she should not pass beyond the sea during her life. Anne of

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 188.

² Vol. xiv. 709, 714.

³ Cromwell, whose spoils formed the principal fund for the maintenance of this princess.

Cleves possessed the manor of Denham hall, Essex, as part of her jointure or appanage, as appears from the court-roll, beginning "*Cur' Serenissime Dna . . . Anne de Cleve.*" It may be observed, the steward, not venturing to style her 'queen' after the divorce, and not knowing what to call her, discreetly leaves a blank before Anne.

The following is an extract from a contemporary record¹ of the deeds of Henry VIII. during the few months of his marital union with his fourth consort, set down in brief business-like order, like entries in a tradesman's day-book, without one word either in excuse or censure,—facts that require no adjectives of indignant reprobation to excite the horror of every right-minded person against the sanguinary tyrant:—

"The *iii^{de}* day of *Jenyver*, Saturday, did the king and all the nobles of the realm, and the mayor and all the aldermen in their best array, and every craft in their best array, *went* [go] down in their barges to Greenwich, and every barge as goodly drest as they could devise, with streamers and banners. And there the king did receive and meet my lady Ann, the *deukes* daughter off Kleve, and made her queene of Englande.

"The *xxviiij* day of July, Wednesday, was beheaded, at Tower hill, which that afore had been master of the Rolls; and after that, the king's secretary; and after that, vicar-general, knight of the Garter, earl of Essex, and lord chamberlain of Ireland. And my lord Hungerford was beheaded there that same time too.

"The *xxx* day of July, Friday, was there drawn from the Tower to Smithfield *vi* doctors: *iiij* of them was burned, and the *tother* three was hanged and quartered. They that were burned were doctor Barnes, doctor Garet, parson of Honey lane, doctor Jerom, vicar of Stepney; and their names that was quartered, doctor Powelle, doctor Abelle, and doctor Fethurstone. And the heads of my lord Cromwell and my lord Hungerford were set up on London bridge, and their bodies buried in the Tower. This same year was *queene An*, the *deukes* daughter of Kleve aforesaid, put aside."

During the six months that Anne of Cleves was Henry's queen some very important changes were effected, especially the dissolution of the monasteries, and the institution of the six bloody articles. As far as her little power went, she was at this time a friend to the Reformation, yet soon after a convert to the church of Rome. Owen Oglethorpe owed his promotion as a bishop to her favor. Anne was so fond

¹ A Brief Diary, *temp.* Henry VII. and Henry VIII. MS. Vespasian, A xxv. Printed by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., in *Reliquæ Antiquæ*, No. viii. c. 30.

of her step-daughter, the princess Elizabeth, that the only favor she asked of Henry after the dissolution of their marriage was, that she might sometimes be permitted to see her; a request which Henry was graciously pleased to grant, on condition that she should not be addressed by his daughter and her attendants by the style and title of queen, but simply as the lady Anne of Cleves.¹

After the divorce Anne continued to reside at her palace at Richmond, and on the 6th of August Henry *honored* her with a visit. She received him with a pleasant countenance, and treated him with all due respect; which put him into such high good humor that he supped with her merrily, and demeaned himself so lovingly, and with such singular graciousness, that some of the bystanders fancied he was going to take her for his queen again.² There is little doubt, however, that he was already married to her more attractive rival, Katharine Howard, whom two days afterwards he publicly introduced to his court as his queen. Perhaps he considered it prudent to pay a previous visit to Anne, to ascertain whether any objection would be raised on her part to his investing another with her lawful title. Anne wisely treated the affair with complacency. The duke of Cleves wept with bitter mortification when he received the account of his sister's wrongs, and found himself precluded from testifying the indignation they inspired: Anne, on the contrary, manifested the most lively satisfaction at having regained her freedom. The yoke of which Henry complained had, certainly, been no silken bond to her; and no sooner was she fairly released from it, than she exhibited a degree of vivacity she had never shown during her matrimonial probation. Marillac says, "This is marvellous prudence on her part, though some consider it stupidity." That which seemed to make the greatest impression on our diplomatic gossip was, that she every day put on a rich new dress, "each more wonderful than the last,"³ which made two things very apparent: first, that she did not take the loss

¹ Leti, Vita di Elisabetta.

² Despatches of Marillac: Bibliothèque du Roi.

³ Ibid.

of Henry very much to heart; and secondly, that her bridal outfit was of a very magnificent description. Bad as Henry's conduct was to his rejected consort, one of the kings of France behaved still more dishonorably under similar circumstances, for he not only sent his affianced bride back with contempt, but detained her costly wardrobe and jewels for the use of a lady who had found more favor in his sight. Marillac tells his sovereign, September 3, 1540, "Madame of Cleves has a more joyous countenance than ever. She wears a great variety of dresses, and passes all her time in sports and recreations." From his excellency's next report, of the 17th of the same month, we gather that the divorced queen was said to be in a situation which would, if it had been really the case, have placed the king in a peculiar state of embarrassment between his passion for his new bride, Katharine Howard, and his frantic desire of increasing his family. Anne passed her time very comfortably, meanwhile, at her Richmond palace, or among the more sequestered bowers of Ham;¹ and, in the exercise of all the gentle charities of life, pursued the even tenor of her way. "Of the repudiated queen," observes Marillac, in his despatch November 1st, "no more is said than if she were dead." The duke of Cleves manifested a lofty spirit of independence, and could never be induced to admit the invalidity of his sister's marriage. The bishop of Bath, who had been sent over to reconcile him, if possible, to the arrangement into which Anne had entered, could get no further declaration from him than the sarcastic observation, that "He was glad his sister had fared no worse."²

In the first steps of the divorce an option was given to Anne as to her residence, either in England or abroad, yet the liberty of choice was illusory; the divorce-jointure of 3000*l.* per annum was made up of many detached grants of crown lands, among which the confiscated possessions of Cromwell stand conspicuous, but to all these grants the

¹ Some relics still remain at Ham house of this era, chiefly ornaments of the fireplaces, with the portcullis figured thereon, seen by the author in the summer of 1843.

² Lord Herbert's Henry VIII., vol. ii. fol. 224.

condition of her residence in England was attached.¹ A prudent regard to her pecuniary interests, in all probability, withheld this much-injured princess from returning to her father-land and the fond arms of that mother who had reluctantly resigned her to a royal husband so little worthy of possessing a wife of "lowly and gentle conditions." Meekly as Anne demeaned herself in her retirement, a jealous watch was kept, not only on her proceedings, but the correspondence of herself and household, by king Henry's ministers, as we find by the following entry in the privy council book of July 22, 1541 :—"William Sheffield, lately one of the retinue at Calais, was apprehended for having said he had letters from the lady Anne of Cleves to the duke of Norfolk, and was brought before the council and searched; when it was found that his letters were only from one Edward Bynings of Calais to Mrs. Howard, the old duchess of Norfolk's woman, to Mrs. Katharine Basset and Mrs. Sympson, the lady Anne of Cleves's women, which were but letters of friendship from private individuals; yet he was committed for further examination."² The investigation came to nothing. The good sense and amiable temper of Anne preserved her from involving herself in any of the political intrigues of the times; and she with truly queenly dignity avoided all appearance of claiming the sympathy of any class of Henry's subjects. But though she avoided the snares of party, she was not so much forgotten by the people of England as the French ambassador imagined. The friends of the Reformation regarded her as the king's lawful wife, and vainly hoped the time would come when, cloyed with the charms of the youthful rival for whom he had discarded her, he would fling his idol from him, as he had done the once adored Anne Boleyn, and reinstate the injured Fleming in her rights.

Within sixteen months after Anne of Cleves had been compelled to resign the crown-matrimonial of England, the fall of her fair successor took place. When the news reached Anne's quiet little court at Richmond of the events which

¹ See Manning's *Surrey*.

² Sir Harris Nicolas's *Acts of Privy Council*, vol. vii.

had filled the royal bowers of Hampton with confusion, and precipitated queen Katharine from a throne to a prison, the excitement among the ladies of Anne's household could not be restrained. The domestic troubles of the king were regarded by them as an immediate visitation of retributive justice for the unfounded aspersions he had cast upon their virtuous mistress; the feelings of some of these ladies carried them so far beyond the bounds of prudence, that two of them, Jane Ratsey and Elizabeth Basset, were summoned before the council, and committed to prison, for having said, "What! is God working his own work to make the lady Anne of Cleve queen again?" Jane Ratsey added many praises of the lady Anne, with disqualifying remarks on queen Katharine, and said, "It was impossible that so sweet a queen as the lady Anne could be utterly put down:" to which *Elizabeth Basset*¹ rejoined, "What a man the king is! How many wives *will* he have?" The ladies were very sternly questioned by the council as to their motives in presuming to utter such audacious comments on the matrimonial affairs of the sovereign; on which Elizabeth Basset, being greatly alarmed, endeavored to excuse herself by saying she was so greatly astounded at the tidings of queen Katharine's naughty behavior, that she must have lost her senses when she permitted herself to give utterance to the treasonable words, "What a man the king is! How many more wives will he have?"²

Two days after, a more serious matter connected with Anne was brought before the council, for it was confidently reported that she had been brought to bed of a "faire boye," of whom the king was the father, but that she had neither apprised him nor his cabinet of the fact.³ This rumor threw both Henry and his council into great perplexity, especially as the capricious monarch had honored his discarded consort with several private visits at her palace of Richmond; and it is, moreover, evident that Anne had actually passed

¹ This name, perhaps, ought to be Katharine Basset, as we see above that Katharine's letters were intercepted. She was the same maid of honor whose curious letter to her mother is quoted p. 64 of this biography.

² MSS. 33 Henry VIII., State-Paper office.

³ *Ibid.*

some days at the royal residence of Hampton Court as the guest of Henry and his young queen, which seemed to give a color to the tale. Henry expressed himself as highly displeased with the ladies and officers of state at Richmond, for not having apprised him of the supposed situation of the ex-queen. The affair came to nothing, and proved to be an unfounded scandal, which originated in some impertinent busybody's comment on an illness that confined poor Anne to her bed at this momentous period. The said scandal was traced by the council from one inveterate gossip to another, through no less than six persons, as we learn from the following minute of their proceedings, forming a curious interlude in the examinations touching Henry's other queen, Katharine Howard:—"We examined also, partly before dinner, and partly after, a new matter, being a report that the lady Anne of Cleves should be delivered of a fair boy; and whose should it be but the king's majesty's! which is a most abominable slander, and for this time necessary to be met withal. This matter was told to Taverner, of the signet, more than a fortnight ago, both by his mother-in-law (Lambert's wife, the goldsmith) and by Taverner's own wife, who saith she heard it of Lilgrave's wife; and Lambert's wife heard it also of the old lady Carew. Taverner kept it [concealed it], but they [the women] with others have made it common matter of talk. Taverner never revealed it till Sunday night, at which time he told it to Dr. Cox,¹ to be further declared if he thought good, who immediately disclosed it to me the lord privy-seal. We have committed Taverner to the custody of *me* the bishop of Winchester; likewise Lambert's wife (who seemeth to have been a dunce in it) to Mr. the chancellor of the Augmentations."² Absurd as the report was, it made a wonderful impression on the mind of the king, who occupied a ludicrous position in the eyes of Europe as the husband of two living wives, who were both the subjects of a delicate investigation at the same moment. The attention of the privy council was distracted between the evidences on

¹ Prince Edward's tutor.

² Printed State-Papers, vol. i. pp. 697, 698.

the respective charges against the rival queens for nearly a fortnight,—a fact that has never been named in history.

How obstinate Henry's suspicions of his ill-treated Flemish consort were may be seen by the following order to his council:—"His majesty thinketh it requisite to have it *groundly* [thoroughly] examined, and further ordered by your discretions, as the manner of the case requireth, to inquire diligently whether the said Anne of Cleves hath indeed had any child or no, as it is bruited [reported]; for his *majesty hath been informed that it is* so indeed, in which part his majesty imputeth a great default in her officers for not advising his highness thereof, if it be true. Not doubting but your lordships will 'groundly' examine the same, and finding out the truth of the whole matter, will advise his majesty thereof accordingly."¹ Dorothy Wingfield, one of the lady Anne's bedchamber women, and the officers of her household, were subjected to a strict examination before the council, and it was not till the 30th of December that they came to the decision that Frances Lilgrave,² widow, having slandered the lady Anne of Cleves and touched also the king's person, she affirming to have heard the report of others whom she refused to name, should be for her punishment committed to the Tower, and Richard Taverner, clerk of the signet, also, for concealing the same."³

No sooner was Anne cleared from this imputation than a great effort was made by her brother, and the Protestant party, to effect a reunion between her and the king. The duke of Cleves evidently imagined that the disgrace of the new queen was neither more nor less than the first move of the king and his ministers towards a reconciliation with Anne. The duke's ambassadors opened the business to the earl of Southampton, to whom Osliger also wrote a pressing letter, urging the expediency of such a measure.⁴ Southampton communicated the particulars to the king of his interview with the ambassadors on the subject, and enclosed

¹ Printed State-Papers, vol. i. p. 701.

² The Lilgraves were the court embroiderers.—See Life of Anne Boleyn.

³ Register of the Privy Council office, p. 288.

⁴ State-Papers, MSS. 294.

Osliger's letter, but was certainly too well aware of Henry's opinion of the lady to venture to second the representations of the court of Cleves. The next attempt was made by the ambassadors on Cranmer, which is thus related by him in the following curious letter to the king:—¹

"It may please your majesty to be advertised, that yesterday the ambassador of Cleve came to my house at Lambeth, and delivered to me letters from Osliger, vice-chancellor to the duke of Cleve, the purport whereof is nothing else but to commend to me the cause of the lady Anne of Cleve, which, though he trusted I should do of myself, yet he saith the occasion is such, that he will not put spurs to a horse which runneth of his own courage. When I had read the letter and considered that no cause was expressed specially, but only in general that I should have commended the cause of the lady Anne of Cleve, after some demur the ambassador came to the point, and plainly asked me to effect the reconciliation. Whereunto I answered, 'that I thought it not a little strange that Osliger should think it meet for me to move a reconciliation of that matrimony, of the which I, as much as any other person, knew most just causes of divorce.' [Cranmer then declared he could take no steps in the matter unless the king should command him.] 'But,' continued he, 'I shall signify the same to his highness, and thereupon you shall have an answer.' Now what shall be your majesty's pleasure that I shall do? whether to make a general answer to Osliger by writing, or that I shall make a certain answer in this point to the ambassador by mouth? I most humbly beseech your majesty that I may be advertised, and according thereto I shall order myself, by the grace of God, whom I beseech daily to have your majesty evermore in his protection and governance. From my manor of Lambeth, this Tuesday the 13th of January.

"Your grace's most bounded

"chaplain and bedesman,

"T. CANTUARIE."

Cranmer, warned by the fate of Cromwell, ventured not to urge the king to put his head a second time into the yoke with his discarded consort, and the negotiation came to nothing. Perhaps Anne herself was unwilling to risk her life by entering again into the perilous thralldom from which she had been once released. The tragic fate of her fair young rival must have taught her to rejoice that she had saved her own head by resigning a crown without a struggle.

In June, 1543, Anne received a friendly visit from her step-daughter, the princess Mary, who stayed with her some days, and on her departure gave very liberal largesses to the officers of the household, from the gentlemen ushers

¹ State-Papers, 716, 717.

down to the servants of the scullery department.¹ In the August of the same year Anne's mother, the widowed duchess of Cleves, died. Early in the following year Anne sent the princess Mary a present of Spanish sewing or embroidery silk.² No event of any importance occurred to break the peaceful tenor of Anne's life till the death of Henry VIII. In the first letter of Edward Seymour (afterwards the duke of Somerset) to the council of regency, he gives the following directions:—³ "If ye have not already advertised my lady Anne of Cleves of king Henry's death, it shall be well done if ye send some express person for the same." This event left the ill-treated princess at full liberty, had she wished to marry, or to return to her own country. But of marriage Anne had had an evil specimen; and, with greater wisdom than Henry's other widow, Katharine Parr, she retained her independence by remaining in single blessedness.

Anne visited the court of her royal step-son Edward VI., June 26, 1550. Her affairs had got into some disorder at that period, so that she found herself under the necessity of applying to her brother the duke of Cleves for his assistance. That prince represented her distress to the English government, and with some difficulty obtained for her the munificent grant of four hundred pounds towards paying her debts. The pensions of such of her servants as were paid by the crown being in arrear, she petitioned the king for them to be liquidated; but the official reply coolly stated, "that the king's highness being on his progress, could not be troubled at that time about payments." Anne had acquired the English language and English habits, and formed an intimate friendship with Henry's daughter, the princess Mary, who was a few months older than herself, as well as the young Elizabeth, to whom she appears to have behaved with great tenderness. England had therefore become her country, and it was natural that she should prefer a residence where she was honored and loved by all to whom her excellent qualities were known to returning to her native

¹ Sir F. Madden's *Privy-purse Expenses*; *Princess Mary*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Tytler's Edward and Mary*, vol. i. p. 18.

land, after the public affronts that had been put upon her by the coarse-minded tyrant to whom she had been sacrificed by her family. Besides these cogent reasons, her property in England required her personal care, as it was subjected to some mutations by the new government, of which the records of the times afford proofs.¹ Among others, the following letter from Anne to her former step-daughter:—

“ANNE OF CLEVES TO PRINCESS MARY.

“MADAME:—

“After my most hearty commendations to your grace, being very desirous to hear of your prosperous health, wherein I very much rejoice, it may please you to be advertised that it hath pleased the king’s majesty to have in exchange my manor and lands of Bisham, in the county of Berkshire, granting me in recompense the house of Westropp [Westhorpe,] in Suffolk, with the two parks and certain manors thereunto adjoining; notwithstanding, if it had been his highness’s pleasure, I was well contented to have continued without exchange. After which grant, for mine own assurance in that behalf I have travailed, to my great cost and charge, almost this twelve months; it hath passed the king’s majesty’s bill, signed, and the privy-seal, being now, as I am informed, stayed at the great seal, for that you, madame, be minded to have the same, not knowing, as I suppose, of the said grant. I have also received at this Michaelmas last past, part of the rent of the aforesaid manors. Considering the premises, and for the amity which hath always been between us (of which I most heartily desire the continuance), that it may please you therefore to ascertain me by your letters or otherwise, as it shall stand with your pleasure. And thus, good madame, I commit you unto the ever-living God, to have you in merciful keeping. From my house of Bletchingly, the viii. day of January, anno M.V^oLIII.

“Your assured loving friend to her little power to command,

“ANNA, the daughter of Cleves.”

The last public appearance of Anne of Cleves was at the coronation of queen Mary, where she had her place in the regal procession, and rode in the same carriage with the princess Elizabeth, with whom she was always on the most affectionate terms. That precedence which Henry VIII. insured to her she always enjoyed, nor did any of the ladies

¹ Hearne’s Sylloge; likewise a letter from Edward VI.’s council, 1547, signifies that the lady Anne of Cleves shall have the use of the house, deer, and woods of Penshurst, as she now has those of Bletchingly. The eagerness of the letter in setting forth the superior advantages of Penshurst to her present residence, leads to the inference that the exchange was not voluntary on the part of Anne. Among the conveniences of Penshurst is mentioned its contiguity to Hever. The council adds, that her transfer from Bletchingly to Penshurst was the intention of the deceased king Henry, but they conclude with assertions that it is their wish in all things to please and gratify her grace.—Archæologia.

of the royal family attempt to dispute it with her. But her happiness appears to have been in the retirement of domestic life. Two of her brothers, William duke of Cleves, and his successor, John William, were subject to mental malady, and died insane; but nothing appears to have ever ruffled the tranquil temperament of this amiable princess, who in the most difficult and trying situations conducted herself with great prudence.

After the celebration of queen Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain, at Winchester, Anne of Cleves addressed to the royal bride a congratulatory epistle, in which, being evidently perplexed by the undefined dignity of queen-regnant, she rings the changes on the titles of "majesty," "highness," and "grace" in a singular manner:—

"TO THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY:—

"After my humble commendations unto *your majesty*, with thanks for your loving favor showed to me in my last suit, and praying of *your highness* your loving continuance, it may please *your highness* to understand that I am informed of *your grace's* return to London again; and being desirous to do my duty to see *your majesty* and the king, if it may so stand with *your highness's* pleasure, and that I may know when and where I shall wait on *your majesty* and *his*. Wishing you both much joy and felicity, with increase of children to God's glory, and to the preservation of your prosperous estates, long to continue with honor in all godly virtue. From my poor house at Hever, the 4th of August.

"Your highness's to command,

"ANNA, the daughter of Cleves."

Endorsed, "The Lady Anne of Cleves to the Queen's majesty, August 4, 1554."

Anne retained property at Bletchingly after this exchange, in proof whereof is her receipt, early in the reign of queen Mary, to sir Thomas Carden, who was master of the revels at the court of Henry VIII., his son, and daughter. This document, signed by her own hand, is among the Losely MSS.,¹ dated the last day of December, first year of Philip and Mary (1553):—

"Received of sir Thomas Carden, knight, the day and year above written, for one quarter of a year's rent due unto us by the same sir Thomas Carden at this feast of Christmas, according to an indenture bearing date the second day

¹ Losely MSS., edited by A. J. Kempe, Esq., p. 10.

of October in the year aforesaid, the sum of 8*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*, in full contentation, satisfaction, and payment of our rents at Bletchingly, and our lands there, and in clear discharge of the same rents to this present day before dated. We have to these letters, being our acquittance, subscribed our name for his discharge.

*At W. N. H. George Younger
off clerks. y*

Anne of Cleves spent much of her time at a residence she had at Dartford, being one of the suppressed abbeys which Henry VIII. had turned into a hunting-seat; and Edward VI. had given it into the bargain, when the exchange was made between Bletchingly and Penshurst. She was abiding at Dartford the year before her death, when sir Thomas Carden, her tenant at Bletchingly, who appears to have been likewise her man of business on all occasions, came to her at Dartford, and she begged him to get certain stores laid in at the Blackfriars for her residence against she came to London; which request was made before the officers of her household, "for her grace lacked money to buy the needful furniture, and she promised payment to sir Thomas if he would make the purchases for her." But the amount was left unpaid at the death of Anne of Cleves, and it appears, from sir Thomas Carden's account, she was without money at the time she requested him to make the purchases. Of his outlay the Losely MSS. furnish items. Her cellar he furnishes with three hogsheads of Gascoigne wine, at 3*l.* each; ten gallons of Malmsey, at 20*d.* per gallon; eleven gallons of muscadel, at 2*s.* 2*d.* per gallon; and sack, ten gallons, at 16*d.* per gallon. The spicery had a stock of three pounds of ginger, 3*s.*; of cinnamon, three ounces, 15*d.*; cloves and mace, six ounces; pepper, one pound, 2*s.* 4*d.*; raisins, two pounds, at 2*d.* per pound, while two pounds of prunes cost 3*d.* Three muttons at 7*s.* each; twenty capons, and a dozen lower price, cost 6*s.*; two dozen rabbits cost 3*s.* In the pastry department was laid in one bushel

of fine wheat-flour, at the great price of 6s. per bushel. Thirty loads of coals were laid in, at 16s. the load; a vast many fagots and billets, and three dozen rushes for strewing the floors, at 20d. the dozen. In the chandry, sir Thomas Carden had provided thirty-five pounds of wax-lights, sixes and fours to the pound, and prickets, which last were stuck on a spike to be burnt; these wax-candles were 1s. per pound. Staff-torches were provided at 1s. 4d. apiece, and white lights eighteen dozen, over and above sundry fair pots of pewter by the said sir Thomas bought and provided to serve in the buttery for the lady Anne's household; likewise brass, iron, and *latten* pots, pans, kettles, skillets, ladles, skimmers, spits, trays, and flaskets, with divers other utensils and properties furnished to the value of 9l. 6s. 8d., some of which were broken, spoiled, and lost, and the rest remain at his house to his use, for which he asks no compensation. Likewise two dozen of fair new pewter candlesticks, delivered for her grace's chandry and chambers. The whole account finishes with a remark that he had provided sundry kinds of fresh fish, as carps, pikes, and tenches, at the request of her grace, which were privately dressed in her grace's laundry for the *trial of cookery*, by which it has been surmised that Anne made private experiments in the noble culinary art.

Anne possessed the placid domestic virtues which seem in a manner indigenous to German princesses. "She was," says Holinshed, who lived in her century, "a lady of right commendable regard, courteous, gentle, a good housekeeper, and very bountiful to her servants." She spent her time at the head of her own little court, which was a happy household within itself, and we may presume well governed, for we hear neither of plots nor quarrels, tale-bearings nor mischievous intrigues, as rife in her home-circle. She was tenderly beloved by her domestics, and well attended by them in her last sickness. She died at the age of forty-one, of some declining illness, which she took calmly and patiently. Her will is a very *naïve* production, showing the most minute attention to all things that could benefit her own little domestic world. It was made but two days be-

fore her death, being dated July 12 and 15, 1557, it is, when divested of tautologies, as follows:—

“WE, Anna, daughter of John late duke of Cleves, and sister to the excellent prince William, now reigning duke of Cleves, Gulick (Juliers), and Barre, sick in body, but whole in mind and memory, thanks be to Almighty God, declare this to be our last will and testament:—1st. We give and bequeath our soul to the holy Trinity, and our body to be buried where it shall please God. 2dly. We most heartily pray our executors undernamed to be humble suitors for us, and in our name, to the queen’s most excellent majesty, that our debts may be truly contented and paid to every one of our creditors, and that they will see the same justly answered for our discharge.¹ Beseeching, also, the queen’s highness of her clemency to grant unto our executors the receipts of our land accustomed to be due at Michaelmas towards the payment of our creditors, for that is not the moiety of our revenues, nor payable wholly at that time, and not able to answer the charge of our household, especially this year,² the price of all cattle and other *acats* [purchases] exceeding the old rate. 3dly. We earnestly require our said executors to be good lords and masters to all our poor servants, to whom we give and bequeath, every one of them being in our check-roll, as well to our officers as others taking wages either from the queen’s highness or from us, from the current month of July, one whole year’s wages; also as much black cloth, at 13s. 4d. per yard, as will make them each a gown and hood, and to every one of our gentlemen waiters and gentlewomen accordingly. And to our yeomen, grooms, and children of our household, two yards each of black cloth, at 9s. the yard. Also, to every one of the gentlewomen of our privy-chamber, for their great pains taken with us, to Mrs. Wingfield, 100*l.*; 20*l.* to Susan Boughton, towards her marriage; to Dorothy Curzon, towards her marriage, 100*l.*; to Mrs. Haymond, 20*l.* [To twelve other ladies, who seem of the like degree, she bequeaths various sums, from 10*l.* to 16*l.* each.] To our laundress, Elizabeth Eliot, 10*l.*; and to mother Lovell [this was the nurse of her sick-room], for her attendance upon us in this time of this our sickness, 10*l.*

“*Item.* We give and bequeath to every one of our gentlemen daily attendant on us, over and besides our former bequests [viz., wages and black cloth], 10*l.*; that is to say, to Thomas Blackgrove, 10*l.*, to John Wymbushe, 10*l.* [eight gentlemen are enumerated]; likewise to our yeomen and grooms 11s. apiece, and to all the children of our house 10s. apiece. And we give to the duke of Cleves, our brother, a ring of gold with a fair diamond; and to our sister the duchess of Cleves, his wife, a ring having therein a great rock ruby, the ring being black enamelled. Also, we give to our sister, the lady Emely, a ring of gold having thereon a fair pointed diamond; and to the lady Katherine duchess of Suffolk,³ a ring of gold, having a fair table diamond, somewhat long; and to the countess of Arundel a ring of gold having a fair table diamond,

¹ For the health of her soul, which, as a Catholic, she considered debts endangered.

² It was a time of famine: witness the enormous price of 6s. for a bushel of flour in the accounts of sir Thomas Carden.

³ The heiress of Willoughby, fourth wife and widow to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

with an H and I of gold set under the stone. Moreover we give and bequeath to the lord Paget, lord privy-seal, a ring of gold, having therein a three-cornered diamond; and to our cousin the lord Waldeck¹ a ring of gold, having therein a fair great hollow ruby. Moreover our mind and will is, that our plate, jewels, and robes be sold, with other of our goods and chattels, towards the payment of our debts, funerals, and legacies. And we do further bequeath to Dr. Symonds, our *phisicon*, towards his great pains, labors, and travails taken oftentimes with us, 20*l.*; and to Alarde, our surgeon and servant, 4*l.*; and to our servant John Guligh, over and above his wages, 10*l.*; and to every one of our alms-children, towards their education, 10*l.* apiece, to be delivered according to the discretion of our executors. Also we will and bequeath to the poor of Richmond, Bletchingly, Hever, and Dartford, 4*l.* to each parish, to be paid to the churchwardens at the present, and to be laid out by the advice of our servants thereabouts dwelling. And to our chaplains, sir Otho Rampello, and to sir Denis Thoms, either of them to pray for us, 5*l.* and a black gown. And to our poor servant James Powell, 10*l.*, and to Elya Turpin, our old laundress, to pray for us, 4*l.*, and to our late servant, Otho Willicke, 20*l.*; and our will and pleasure is, that our servants, sir Otho Rampello, Arnold Ringlebury, John Guligh, John Solenbrongh, Derrick Pasman, Arnold Holgins, and George Hagalas, being our countrymen, and minding to depart out of this realm of England, shall have towards their expenses, every one 10*l.* And we bequeath to Thomas Perce, our cofferer, to Thomas Hawe, our clerk-comptroller, and to Michael Apsley, clerk of our kitchen, for their pains, taken with us sundry ways, over and besides their formal wages, 10*l.* each. And our will and pleasure is, that our said cofferer, who hath disbursed much for us for the maintenance of our estate and household, should be truly paid by our executors; likewise all other of our servants that hath disbursed any money for us at any time, if they have not been paid. The residue of all our goods, plate, jewels, robes, cattle, and debts, not given or bequeathed, after our funeral debts and legacies, we give and bequeath to the right honorable Nicholas Heathe, archbishop of York and lord chancellor of England, Henry earl of Arundel, sir Edmund Peckham, and sir Richard Preston, knights, whom we ordain and make our executors of this our last will and testament. And our most dearest and entirely beloved sovereign lady queen Mary we earnestly desire to be our overseer of our said last will, with most humble request to see the same performed as shall to her highness seem best for the health of our soul. And in token of the special trust and affiance which we have in her grace, we do give and bequeath to her most excellent majesty, for a remembrance, our best jewel, beseeching her highness that our poor servants may enjoy such small gifts and grants as we have made unto them in consideration of their long service done unto us, being appointed to wait on us at the first erection of our household by her majesty's late father, of most famous memory, king Henry VIII., for that his said majesty said then unto us, 'That he would account our servants his own, and their service done to us as if done to himself:' therefore we beseech the queen's majesty so to accept them in this time of their extreme need. Moreover we give and bequeath to the lady Elizabeth's grace [afterwards queen Elizabeth] my second best jewel, with our hearty request to accept and take into her service one of our poor maids, named Dorothy Curzon. And

¹ The count of Waldeck.

we do likewise give and bequeath unto every one of our executors before named, towards their pains,—viz., to the lord chancellor's grace a fair bowl of gold with a cover; to the earl of Arundel, a maudlin standing-cup of gold with a cover; to sir Edmund Peckham, a jug of gold with a cover, or else a crystal glass garnished with gold and set with stones; to sir Richard Preston, our best gilt bowl with a cover, or else that piece of gold plate which sir Edmund leaveth (if it be his pleasure), most heartily beseeching them to pray for us, and to see our body buried according to the queen's will and pleasure; and that we may have the suffrages of holy church according to the Catholic faith, wherein we end our life in this transitory world.

"These being witnesses, Thomas Perce, our cofferer, Thomas Hawe, our comptroller, John Symonds, doctor in physic, etc.; also Dorothy Wingfield, widow, Susan Boughton, Dorothy Curzon, *jantlewomen* of our privy-chamber [bedchamber], with many others; and hy me, Dionysius Thomow,¹ chaplain and *confessor* to the same most noble lady Anna of Cleves."

Two days after the dictation of this will, the repudiated queen of England expired peacefully at the palace of Chelsea. Her beneficent spirit was wholly occupied in deeds of mercy, caring for the happiness of her maidens and alms-children, and forgetting not any faithful servant however lowly in degree. She was on amicable terms both with the Catholic Mary and the Protestant Elizabeth, and left both tokens of her kindness. Although she was a Lutheran when she came to this country, it is very evident from her will that she died a Catholic.

Queen Mary appointed her place of burial in Westminster abbey, where her funeral was performed with some magnificence. A hearse was prepared at Westminster, "with seven grand palls . . . as goodly a hearse as ever seen."—"The 3d of August my lady Anne of Cleves" (sometime wife of Henry VIII.) came from Chelsea to burial unto Westminster, with all the children of Westminster (of the choir), with many priests and clerks, and the *gray amice* of St. Paul's, and three crosses, and the monks of Westminster. My lord bishop of London [Bonner] and my lord

¹ Thomas, or Tomeo, had been comptroller of Katharine of Arragon's household at Bugden, and was transferred to that of the princess Elizabeth: he had perhaps since taken orders, for he is, under the name of *Denis Thoms* (p. 97), left a small legacy to pray for her soul; thus, although the will is evidently transcribed by himself, he spells both Christian and surname differently in the course of it.

² Cottonian, Vitellus, F. 7. Sir F. Madden has carefully restored from a half-burnt fragment this quaint detail of her burial.

abbot of Westminster [Feckenham] rode together next the monks. Then rode the two executors, sir Edmund Peckham and sir Richard Preston; and then my lord admiral and my lord Darcy, followed by many knights and gentlemen. After her banner of arms came her gentlemen of the household and her head officers, and the bier-chariot, with eight banners of arms and four banners of white taffeta, wrought with fine gold. Thus they passed St. James and on to Charing cross, where was met a hundred torches, her servants bearing them; and the twelve bedesmen of Westminster had new black gowns, and they had twelve burning torches and four white branches; then her ladies and gentlewomen, all in black, on their horses, and about the hearse sat eight heralds bearing white banners of arms." These white ensigns were to signify that Anne of Cleves had lived a maiden life. "At the abbey-door all did alight, and the bishop of London and my lord abbot, in their mitres and copes, received the good lady, censing her; and their men did bear her under a canopy of black velvet with four black staves, and so brought her under the hearse, and there tarried dirge, and all the night with lights burning. The next day requiem was sung for my lady Anne daughter of Cleves, and then my lord of Westminster [abbot Feckenham] preached as goodly a sermon as ever was made, and the bishop of London sang mass in his mitre. And after mass, the lord bishop and lord abbot did cense the corpse; and afterwards she was carried to her tomb, where she lies with a hearse and cloth of gold over her. Then all her head officers brake their staves, and all her ushers brake their rods, and cast them into her tomb, and all the gentlemen and ladies offered at mass. My lady of Winchester was chief mourner, and my lord admiral and lord Darcy went on each side of her; and thus they went in order to a great dinner, given by my lord of Winchester to all the mourners."

Anne of Cleves is buried near the high altar of Westminster abbey, in a place of great honor, at the feet of king Sebert, the original founder.¹ Her tomb is seldom recog-

¹ Stowe, vol. ii. p. 603.

nized,—in fact, it looks like a long bench placed against the wall, on the right hand as the examiner stands facing the altar, near the oil portraits of Henry III. and king Sebert. On closer inspection, her initials A and C, interwoven in a monogram, will be observed on parts of the structure, which is rather a memorial than a monument, for it was never finished.¹ “Not one of Henry’s wives, excepting Anne of Cleves, had a monument,” observes Fuller, “and hers was but half a one.” The hearse of the queen was stripped by some thieves of all its ornaments of gold cloth, velvet, and banners: it had, in consequence, to be taken down within a fortnight of its erection. The robbery was laid, by popular report, on the monks of Westminster; ² yet as the destruction of funeral pomps under their care militated against their very tottering establishment in England, they may be acquitted of the imputation.

It is evident that reports were spread throughout the courts of Germany that the residence of Anne of Cleves in England was a detention full of cruelty and restraint. These ideas gave credence to an impostor, who presented herself in a state of distress at the palace of John Frederic II., prince of Coburg, and pretended to be the princess of Cleves, repudiated by Henry VIII. She was a long time entertained by the hospitable prince as his kinswoman, but was finally proved to be a maniac, and died in confinement.³

¹ Stowe, vol. ii. p. 603.

² Machyn’s Diary, p. 148; Camden Society.

³ Feyjoo’s Praise of Woman.

KATHARINE HOWARD,

FIFTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

Parents of Katharine—Her lineage—Her adoption by the duchess of Norfolk—Neglected education—Evil associates—Early imprudences—Connivance of Mary Lassells—Katharine courted by Francis Derham—His presents to her—Their secret engagement—Wrath of the duchess of Norfolk—Derham absconds—His mournful adieu—Improvement of Katharine's conduct—Derham's return—She repels his addresses—His perseverance and jealousy—Katharine is introduced at court—Henry VIII. falls in love with her—Appointed maid of honor—The king marries Katharine—She appears publicly as queen—Medallion in honor of her marriage—Ladies of her household—Perilous reports—Royal progress to Grafton, etc.—Rumors of the restoration of Anne of Cleves—Affection of the king to queen Katharine—Residence at Windsor, Hampton Court, Westminster, and Greenwich—Katharine's dower—Her estrangement from her uncle Norfolk—Great northern progress of the king and queen—Queen admits Derham into her household—Imprudent interview with her cousin Culpepper—Katharine denounced before the privy council.

THE career of Katharine Howard affords a grand moral lesson, a lesson better calculated to illustrate the fatal consequences of the first heedless steps in guilt than all the warning essays that have ever been written on those subjects. No female writer can venture to become the apologist of this unhappy queen, yet charity may be permitted to whisper, ere the dark page of her few and evil days is unrolled,

“ Full gently scan thy brother man,
Still gentler sister woman.

Katharine Howard, while yet a child in age, being deprived of a mother's watchful care and surrounded by unprincipled persons of maturer years, made shipwreck of all her hopes on earth ere she knew the crime—the madness into which she was betrayed. Let no one who has been more fortu-

nately circumstanced boast. John Bradford, one of the most illustrious of our Protestant martyrs, who afforded in his own practice a perfect exemplification of Christian holiness, when he beheld a criminal handcuffed and carried ignominiously to execution, exclaimed, "But for the grace of God, there goes John Bradford!"

Katharine Howard was the cousin-german of a previous victim of Henry VIII.'s stormy love and murderous caprice, the beautiful and ill-fated Anne Boleyn; she was his fifth wife, and the third private gentlewoman whom he elevated to the perilous dignity of his queen. Although she was his subject, the lineage of this lady was, in some respects, not inferior to his own. Through her royal ancestress, queen Adelia, Katharine Howard was the descendant of the imperial race of Charlemagne.¹

Margaret Brotherton, the grand-daughter of Edward I. and Marguerite of France,² transmitted the mingled blood of the Plantagenets and the kings of France to her descendants, by Thomas Mowbray, the heir of the Albinis and the Warrens, and thus united, in a blended line, the posterity of Henry I. and his two queens, "Matilda the Good and Adelia the Fair." Margaret of Brotherton was created duchess of Norfolk, and claimed her father Thomas Plantagenet's office of earl-marshal. Her claims were allowed, and she was called the *mareschale*; but her son, Thomas Mowbray, was invested by her with the marshal's rod, and acted as her deputy. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the famous Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, and their daughter Margaret conveyed the honors and demesnes of all these noble houses to her son by sir Robert Howard,—namely, John, the first duke of Norfolk of the name of Howard. He was slain at Bosworth, and his dukedom was confiscated by Henry VII. Thomas, his eldest son, was the victorious Surrey of Flodden field.³ At that memorable battle, where the national glory of England was so signally advanced by the valor and military skill of Katharine's

¹ See biography of queen Adelia, vol. i.

² Life of Marguerite of France, vol. ii.

³ Howard Memorials, by Henry Howard, Esq., of Corby.

family, her father, lord Edmund, Surrey's ninth son, was the marshal of the English host, under the command of his renowned father. He led the right wing, and sustained unshrinkingly the fiery onslaught of Huntley and Home, though the Cheshire men fled; leaving, as the ancient record certifies, "the said master Edmund in a manner alone, without succor, by his banner, which he gallantly defended," verifying the chivalric aphorism which Scott, in after-years, attached to the cognizance of his house,—

"For who, in field or foray slack,
Saw the blanche lion e'er give back."

The standard-bearer, indeed, was slain and hewn to pieces, and the stainless banner of Howard fell with him, yet not before the dauntless *lionceau* of the house, who had so well maintained it, was himself thrice beaten down to the ground; but, "like a courageous and a hardy young gentleman," pursues our document, "he recovered again, and fought hand to hand with sir David Home, and slew him with his own hands. And thus the said Master Edmund was in great peril, till the lord Dacre, like a good knight and true, came to his succor and relieved him."¹ After the battle, young Edmund received the well-earned honor of knighthood from the sword of his victorious father, and the forfeited dukedom of Norfolk was restored to the gallant Surrey, as a reward for the good services he and his brave sons had performed for their king and country that day.² Henry also granted the following augmentation of honor to the arms

¹ This curious narrative, by a contemporary, is to be found in Galt's *Life of Wolsey*. It has recently been reprinted in black letter.

² The triumph of the blanche lion of Katharine's paternal house was commemorated by king Henry's laureate, Skelton, in these lines of his *Song of Flodden*:—

"On Branzholme moor and Flodden hills,
Our English bows, our English bills,
Against ye poured so sharp a shower,
Of Scotland ye have lost the flower.
The white lion, rampant of mood,
He raged, and rent out your heart-blood;
He the white, and you the red,
The white there struck the red stark dead."—*Skelton*.
(From a black-letter edition.)

of Surrey and his posterity:—viz., to bear on a bend in an escutcheon the upper half of a red lion,¹ depicted as the arms of Scotland, pierced through the mouth with an arrow.

After her marriage with the king, Katharine Howard bore the Flodden augmentation on the third quarter of her escutcheon,²—a proof that she was proud of the honor of her family, though, unhappily, regardless of her own. But deeply as this child of sinful passion erred, we should remember that her grandfather, her father, and her uncles performed good services for England, and advanced the glory of our country both by land and sea. Out of respect to their memories, we are bound to deal as gently by their unhappy kinswoman as the circumstances of the case will admit. Justice, indeed, requires that implicit credence should not be given to the statements of those who, without allowing her the benefit of a trial, brought her to the block unheard.

Katharine Howard was the fifth child and second daughter of lord Edmund Howard, by Joyce, or Jocosa, daughter of sir Richard Culpepper, of Holingbourne in Kent, widow of sir John Leigh, knight.³ Lord Edmund Howard is enumerated among the noble bachelors who attended Mary Tudor to France in 1515, and supposing he married soon after, the earliest date that can be given for Katharine's birth is 1521 or 1522. She was, in all probability, born at Lambeth, which was one of the great Howard stations,

¹ After the honor of this victory, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey (as a *note* of the conquest), gave to his servants this cognizance to wear on the left arm, which was a white lion (the beast which he before bore as the proper ensign of that house derived from the family of Mowbray) standing over a red lion (which was the peoulier badge of the kingdom of Scotland), and tearing the same red lion with his paws.—Holinshed.

² Willement's *Regal Heraldry*. See also MS. in the Herald's college, Vincent, L 14, fol. 104.

³ Sir Thomas Howard, her eldest brother, was killed in the French wars; Henry, the second, died young; sir George Howard, the third, left no posterity. Margaret, her eldest sister, married sir Thomas Arundel, and is the ancestor in the female line of the Arundels of Wardour; Mary married Edmund Trafford, of Trafford in Lancashire; Joyce became the wife of John Stanney, a simple esquire; and Isabel, of another esquire of the Baynton family.—Howard Memorials.

where the head of the family, Thomas duke of Norfolk, kept his state when in attendance on the court. There, too, the duchess-dowager of Norfolk, his step-mother, and her family, resided in great splendor, and there Katharine's father, lord Edmund Howard, had a house.¹ That brave commander, who by his valor and military skill had so greatly contributed to the victory at Flodden field, which preserved England from being overrun by an invading army, had reaped no other reward than glory for his brilliant services on that memorable day. He inherited only a younger son's portion from his illustrious father, and having married, not from motives of interest, but pure affection, a lady who brought him ten children, he and his numerous family had to struggle with the miseries of poverty, which his elevated birth and distinguished reputation rendered the more irksome. Nor was this all, for poor lord Edmund was not only without money, and destitute of credit, but at last so deeply involved in difficulties from the steps taken by his creditors to recover the sums he had been constrained, under divers emergencies, to borrow at usurious interest, that he was compelled to conceal himself under various disguises, for fear of arrest. His lady and children, among whom was a future queen of England, were of course exposed to the bitterest hardships and privations in consequence of this painful adversity. As these were the piping times of peace, lord Edmund's trusty sword lay rusting in its sheath, and his past services were lightly regarded. He was therefore desirous of turning his talents and energies into some more profitable channel, in the hope of winning bread for his starving family. Ships were at that time fitting out, by king Henry's order, for voyages of discovery in the new world, and the unrewarded hero of Flodden was desirous, as a last resource, of engaging in an expedition, which, however perilous (navigation being then in its infancy), offered to gentlemen of narrow fortunes but great souls a prospect of acquiring wealth by daring enterprise. The following piteous letter, in which the father of Katharine Howard unfolds his pecuniary distresses to cardinal Wolsey, and

¹ Howard Memorials. Manning's Kent.

solicits for employment in this service, affords touching evidence of the desperation of his circumstances, and can scarcely be read without emotion when the services he had performed for England are considered :—

“ LORD EDMUND HOWARD TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

“ My duty remembered humbly, I beseech your grace to be my good lord, for without your gracious help I am utterly undone. Sir, so it is, that I am so far in danger of the king's laws by reason of debt I am in, that I dare not go abroad, nor come at mine own house, and am fain to absent myself from my wife and my poor children, there is such writs of execution out against me; and also, such as be my sureties are daily arrested and put to great trouble, which is to my great shame and rebuke. Sir, there is no help but through your grace, and your good mediation to the king's grace, in the which is my singular trust; and your gracious favor, shared unto me in the obtaining of this bill that I now do labor for, shall not only be meritorious, but shall be the safeguard of my life, and relief of my poor wife and our x children, and set me out of debt. And I humbly beseech your grace, for such *poor service* as I have done the king's grace, and trust for to do, and that I be not cast away.”

Gallant spirit! how modestly he alludes to deeds which turned the fortunes of the day at Flodden, when, almost single-handed, he sustained the fiery charge of Huntley and of Home, and slew the latter in knightly duel, hand to hand, as before recorded to his honor! What English reader's heart does not burn within him at the melancholy fact, that such a man should have been compelled to skulk in holes and corners for fear of encountering duns and bailiffs, and also to make humble suit to “the butcher's cur,” through whom all preferments flowed, for the means of earning a livelihood! He does not sue for court places or pensions, but for employment, and that from loyal and patriotic motives, withal, for he says :—

“ And if the king's grace, or your grace, should command me to do any service, I would trust to do acceptable service; and liefer I had to be in his grace's service at the farthest end of Christendom than to live thus wretchedly, and die with thought, sorrow, and care. I may repent that ever I was nobleman's son born, leading the sorrowful life that I live. If I were a poor man's son, I might dig and delve for my living, and my children and wife's, for whom I take more thought than for myself; and so may I not now, but to get reproach and shame to me and all my blood. Sir, if there be any creature living that can lay to me either treason, murder, felony, rape, extortion, bribery, then let me have the extremity of the king's laws. And I trust there shall none lay against me anything to be proved to my reproach, but only debt.

“ Sir, I am informed there shall be a voyage made into a new-found land with

divers ships, and captains and soldiers in them, and I am informed the voyage shall be profitable to the king's grace. Sir, if your grace think my poor carcass anything meet to serve the king's grace in the said voyage, for the hither passion of Christ be you my good lord therein; for now I do live as wretched a life as ever did gentleman being a true man, and nothing have I to live on, or me, my wife and children, meat or drink. And glad I would be to venture my life to do the king a service; and if I be put thereunto, I doubt not but I shall do such service as shall be acceptable, and do his grace honor. And, sir, I have nothing to lose but my life, and that would I gladly adventure in his service, and to get somewhat toward my living."

Lord Edmund Howard concludes this most touching appeal with an apology that he was unable to prefer his suit in person to the cardinal, because he durst not venture abroad for fear of arrest. The bill, to which he alludes twice in his letter, was probably a bill in chancery, for which he was desirous of obtaining Wolsey's good offices; and if so, there is no cause for wonder at the pecuniary difficulties in which he was involved. There is no date to this letter, neither is the success of lord Edmund Howard's earnest supplication to be permitted to earn bread for his starving family in the king's service in the new-found lands stated. That he subsequently obtained the honorable employment of comptroller of Calais and the surrounding marches, he probably owed to the powerful interest of his niece Anne Boleyn, when her star was in the ascendant; but, in the interim, severe privations were suffered by him and his children. As for his lady, she sank under the difficulties of her position, and died early in life, leaving several of her children helpless infants. Katharine, who had been principally reared in the nursery of her uncle, sir John Culpepper, at Holingbourne, as the playfellow of his little heir, Thomas Culpepper, with whom her name was afterwards to be so painfully connected in the page of history, was subsequently received into the family of her father's step-mother Agnes Tylney, duchess-dowager of Norfolk.¹

Lord Edmund Howard married a second wife² in a less elevated rank of society, and was probably very thankful for being relieved of the care and charge of his second

¹ This lady was the third wife and widow of the valiant earl of Surrey, afterwards duke of Norfolk. She was cousin to his second wife, Elizabeth Tylney.

² Dorothy Troyes.

daughter, which the old duchess Agnes took entirely upon herself, but without any intention of supplying, by acts of maternal tenderness and kindly beneficence, the place of the fond mother of whom the noble orphan had been thus early bereft. It was indeed an evil hour for the little Katharine when she left the paternal roof, and the society of the innocent companions of her infant joys and cares, to become a neglected dependant in the splendid mansion of a proud and heartless relative; and could her brave father have foreseen the consequences of this arrangement, it is easy to imagine how much rather he would have placed her on her bier than have permitted the demoralizing associations to which she was exposed in her new home. Lord Edmund Howard's duties compelled his residence at Calais during the latter years of his short life, or it is possible that his parental vigilance might have been alarmed in time to preserve his child from ruin.¹ The duchess of Norfolk was so perfectly unmindful of her duties to her orphan charge, that Katharine was not only allowed to associate with her waiting-women, but compelled at night to occupy the sleeping apartment that was common to them all.² Unhappily, they were persons of the most abandoned description, and seem to have taken a fiendish delight in perverting the principles and debasing the mind of the nobly-born damsel who was thrown into the sphere of their polluting influence.

Katharine, unfortunately for herself, while yet a child in age, acquired the precocious charms of womanhood, and before she had even entered her teens became the object of illicit passion to a low-born villain in the household of the duchess, named Henry Manox. He was a player on the virginals, probably Katharine's instructor on that instrument, and might take advantage of the opportunities too often afforded to persons in that capacity to prefer his suit, and by degrees to establish himself on terms of unbecoming familiarity with his pupil. Katharine was residing

¹ Lord Edmund Howard died March 19th, 30th Henry VIII. (the year after the death of queen Jane Seymour), being then comptroller of Calais and its marches.

² State-Papers; Acts of Privy Council.

in the family of the duchess at Horsham, in Norfolk, when this degrading intimacy commenced, which was fostered and encouraged by one of the duchess's women called mistress Isabel, who was her confidante, and carried the tokens that were exchanged between her and Manox. When mistress Isabel married and left the household of the duchess of Norfolk, her place and office of confidante was supplied by a woman from the village of Horsham, of the name of Dorothy Barwike.¹ Soon after, the duchess of Norfolk removed with Katharine and her whole establishment to her house at Lambeth. Katharine's uncles, the duke of Norfolk and lord William Howard, had mansions also at Lambeth, which was at that time very much the resort of the nobles of Henry's court, and was considered as a very pleasant retreat, with its beautiful orchards and gardens sloping down to the banks of the Thames.

The removal of the duchess of Norfolk to Lambeth was, in all probability, for the purpose of attending the coronation of her grand-daughter Anne Boleyn, in whose court she made a considerable figure. The coronation of that queen and the christening of the princess Elizabeth both took place in the year 1533, when Katharine Howard, though certainly too young to have any part assigned to her in royal ceremonies of state, was old enough to mar all her own hopes in life and to stain the hitherto unsullied honor of her house. It was while at Lambeth that she formed a fatal intimacy with a female of low birth, of the name of Mary Lassells, who was the nurse of her uncle lord William Howard's first child by the daughter of lady Russell.² On the death of lady William Howard in 1533,³ Mary

¹ State-Paper MS.

² *Ibid.*, 33 Henry VIII.

³ Lord William Howard, eldest son of Thomas Howard second duke of Norfolk by Agnes Tyney, and founder of the great Effingham line, was half-brother to lady Boleyn, consequently great-uncle by the half-blood to queen Elizabeth, whose kind and manly protector he afterwards became. He was born about 1509.—Howard Memorials. His first wife was Katharine Broughton; the time of his marriage to her is not ascertained; she was daughter and one of the co-heirs of sir John Broughton of Tuddington, Bedfordshire. This lady died April 23, 1533, leaving one daughter, Agnes, who married Paulet marquess of Winchester. His second wife was Margaret, daughter of sir T.

Lassells entered the service of the duchess of Norfolk, and was permitted to sleep in the dormitory which the young and lovely daughter of lord Edmund Howard shared with the female attendants of the duchess. Supposing Katharine Howard to have been born in 1521, the very earliest date that can be assigned for the birth of the *fifth* child of a man who was a bachelor in the close of the year 1515, then would she have been under thirteen at the period when Mary Lassells was added to the *ménage* of the duchess, a fact which makes the following circumstances most melancholy. Mary Lassells very soon began to discuss with Katharine's trusty confidante, Dorothy Barwike, the intrigue in which that unprincipled woman was lending her aid to involve the hapless child; she told Mary Lassells that "Manox was insured (that is, contracted or troth-plight) to mistress Katharine Howard, with whom he was much in love." On this Mary Lassells (whose indignation at the supposed passion of the musician for the young lady inspires a suspicion that she was actuated by jealousy) said to him with some warmth, "Man! what meanest thou, to play the fool of this fashion? Knowest thou not, that an' my lady of Norfolk know of the love between thee and mistress Howard she will undo thee? And besides this, she is come of a noble house; and if thou shouldst marry her, some of her blood will kill thee."¹ Manox replied, in the most profligate language to this remonstrance, that "his designs were of a dishonorable nature, and, from the liberties the young lady had allowed him, he doubted not of being able hereafter to effect his purpose." When Mary Lassells repeated this to Katharine, she was greatly offended with Manox, cried "fie upon him!" said "she cared not for him," and then, unable to control or defer the effusion of her indignation, she proceeded with Mary Lassells in quest of him to the house of lord Beaumont, where he was,

Gamage (date of marriage unknown), by whom he had Charles, the celebrated hero of the Armada, and the fast friend of queen Elizabeth. Lord William united in his own person the somewhat incongruous offices of lord high-admiral of England and lord chamberlain to queen Mary, and afterwards to queen Elizabeth.

¹ State-Paper MS.

and there passionately upbraided him with his baseness. Manox, by way of excuse, replied, "that his passion for her so transported him beyond the bounds of reason, that he wist not what he said."¹ Whether Katharine had the weakness to be satisfied with this apology is not stated, but she was once, and once only, seen with him afterwards, walking at the back of the duchess's orchard at Lambeth.

Such is the history of the first error of her who was hereafter to become the queen of England, and who was cousin-german to her who then wore the crown-matrimonial.² But if the motherless, neglected child who was thus early beguiled from the straightforward path be deserving of blame, what shall be said of the conduct of Mary Lassells, who, being aware of the clandestine addresses of the base Manox, and having even heard him avow designs which the tender youth of the nobly-born maiden alone prevented him from effecting, so far from warning the duchess, or any of the members of the Howard family, of the peril of their youthful relative, actually accompanied her on a stolen expedition to the servants' hall of a neighboring nobleman's house in quest of the profligate villain? What punishment would in these days be considered too severe for a nurse who could thus shamelessly betray the confidence of her employers? Surely the statements of such a person are little deserving of credit, couched as they are, too, in language which none but the most abandoned of human beings could have used; yet it is on the testimony of this woman that Katharine was eventually brought to the block. It is possible that Katharine's childish fancy for Manox originated in her musical propensities: the love of music, when indulged to excess, has not unfrequently involved older and better educated ladies than this neglected, wrong-headed girl in perilous acquaintances and associations. Katharine's infatuation for the low-born musician was, however, of ephemeral date; soon after her arrival at Lambeth she was entangled in another clandestine courtship, with a lover of a very different stamp from Manox,

¹ State-Paper MS., Henry VIII.

² Anne Boleyn.

but certainly little suited for a mate to a daughter of the ducal line of Howard.

Her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, retained in his service a band of gentlemen, whom he called his pensioners or household troop. They were, for the most part, persons of better birth than fortune, and many of them claimed some degree of affinity to their lord, whom they were ready to follow to the field, to back him in his quarrels with his neighbors, or even, if required, in defiance to the sovereign. They had free quarters, good pay, and little to do, on ordinary occasions, but to seek their own amusement. The gentlemen pensioners of the duke of Norfolk and earl of Northumberland were the last vestige of feudal retainers, and were regarded as persons of more valor than morality.¹ One of these bold spirits, named Francis Derham, became deeply enamoured of Katharine Howard, and being allied to her in blood, and an especial favorite with the old duchess, he aspired to nothing less than winning her for his wife. He found the young lady only too easy of access, surrounded as she was by the unprincipled females who had previously encouraged her to listen to the addresses of Manox.

Katharine appears to have been kept without money by the duchess, and, having the passion for finery natural to girls of her age, allowed Derham to supply her with all those little ornaments to her dress which she was unable to obtain for herself. On one occasion, when she was languishing to possess an artificial flower called a French fennel, which was universally worn by the ladies of Henry VIII.'s court, Derham told her, "He knew of a little woman in London with a crooked back, who was skilled in making all sorts of flowers of silk;" and Katharine requested him to employ this person to make a 'French fennel' for her, bidding him pay for it, and she would pay him again when she had the means. Derham complied with her wish, and when he had put her in possession of this coveted piece of finery, she dared not wear it till she had prevailed on lady Brereton to say she gave it to her.² Derham has been

¹ See the Household books of Percy and Howard.

² State-Papers, quoted by Burnet.

represented as a person in the lowest class of society: this is a mistake, for not only was he a relation of the ducal line of Howard, but evidently a gentleman of some property. Whenever the inconsiderate Katharine desired silks, satins, or even velvet, for her habiliments, she allowed him to procure them for her, under the vague promise of reimbursing him for his outlay at some future period. She was once indebted to this perilous creditor in a considerable sum.¹

On the New-year's day they exchanged love-tokens. Derham gave Katharine a silk heart's-ease, and she gave him a band and sleeves for a shirt. These were, according to the fashion of the times, curiously wrought with the needle, probably by Katharine's own hand,—such at any rate was the report; but when questioned on this subject after she was queen, she scornfully denied that such was the fact, and said, “as far as she could remember, they were wrought by Clifton's wife of Lambeth,” and affirmed on oath, “that she never gave him any other present.”² Derham had also a bracelet of silken work which had been hers; “but that he took from her perforce,” she said, “and kept in her despite.” He also boasted himself of a little ruby ring, but that Katharine also forswore “as none of hers.”³ It is a curious fact, that Derham transferred to her an old shirt, of fine Holland or cambric, belonging to the deceased lord Thomas Howard, which the duchess had given to him.⁴ The shirts worn by the gallants of Henry's court were very costly with point and fine needle-work. It would have been a curious piece of costume if Katharine had explained for what purpose she coveted this garment, and how she had exercised her ingenuity in converting it into handkerchiefs and other little accessories to her wardrobe.

It is too evident, from the fact of her accepting so many presents from Derham, that little attention was paid to her comforts, and that she occupied a doubtful station in the family, having neither consideration nor sympathy vouch-

¹ State-Papers, quoted by Burnet.

² Examinations of queen Katharine Howard.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii.

safed to her by those of her own rank and lineage. Her young heart thus chilled and embittered by the neglect and privations which she experienced on the one hand, and assailed by the passionate importunities of the most devoted of lovers on the other, Katharine forgot that she, in whose veins the blood of the Plantagenets and the Carolingian monarchs mingled, was no mate for one of her uncle's gentlemen-at-arms, and consented to become the troth-plight or affianced wife of Francis Derham. In the days of Catholicism, such engagements were recognized by the church as binding; and if the existence of a precontract could be proved, it not only presented, while undissolved, an obstacle to the solemnization of matrimony between either of the parties with another person, but, if such matrimony had been contracted, rendered it illegal. History presents innumerable examples of marriages having been declared null and void where a previous promise had been violated by either of the parties. In Scotland, to this day, the acknowledgments that passed between Katharine Howard and Derham would constitute binding wedlock. Derham asked her permission to call her "wife," and entreated her to call him "husband," to which Katharine replied, "she was content that it should be so." One day, having kissed her before witnesses, who made some observation on the freedom of his behavior, he turned about and asked, "Who should hinder him from kissing his own wife?" One of the bystanders then said, "I trow this matter will come to pass as the common saying is."—"What is that?" said Derham. "Marry!" replied the other, "that Mr. Derham shall have Mrs. Katharine Howard."—"By St. John!" said Derham, "you may guess twice, and guess worse."¹

The ballad lore of that age, which has always been supposed to give a lively picture of the manners of the times, is wonderfully deficient in morality; and often describes high-born ladies and lovers of low degree acting with lamentable disregard of propriety, if any impediments to their marriage were opposed by their friends. How cor-

¹ Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii.

rupting such *chansons* were to the young and thoughtless may be imagined; and Katharine Howard had no anxious mother to watch over her, and inculcate principles of virtue and habits of feminine reserve. The only care the duchess of Norfolk appears to have taken for the preservation of her youthful grand-daughter's honor was, to have the doors of the chamber in which she and her waiting-women slept locked every night, and the keys brought to her; but this caution was defeated by the subtlety of one or other of her attendants, by whom they were privily stolen away, and Derham was admitted to pay his nocturnal visits, in defiance of all propriety.¹

"Sometimes," said Katharine, "he would bring strawberries, apples, wine, and other things to make good cheer with, after my lady was gone to bed; but that he made any special banquet,² or that, by special appointment between him and me, he should tarry till after the keys were delivered to my lady, is utterly untrue. Nor did I ever steal the keys myself, or desire any other person to steal them, to let him in; but for many other causes the doors have been opened, and sometimes Derham hath come early in the morning and much misbehaved himself, but never by my request or consent."³ It was reported by Wilks and Baskerville, two of the unprincipled females who were the accomplices in the ruin of this hapless girl, that on one of these occasions it was asked, "What shifts should we make if my lady came suddenly in?" and that Katharine rejoined, "Derham must go into the little gallery if my lady come." Katharine denied having made this suggestion in the following words:—"I never said so; but he hath said it himself, and so hath he done, indeed."⁴ With equal simplicity and earnestness she denied having received from Derham the present of a quilted cap, when destitute of the means to make such a purchase. "He bought not for me the quilted cap," said she, "but only the sarcenet to make it; and I delivered the sarcenet to a little fellow in my lady's house to embroider, as I remember his name was Rose, an

¹ Examinations in State-Paper office.

² Queen Katharine's Examination.

³ Burnet.

⁴ Ibid.

embroiderer, to make it what pattern he thought best, and not appointing him to make it with friars' knots, as he can testify, if he be a true man:" nevertheless, when it was made, Derham said, "What, wife? here be friars' knots for Francis!" Francis I. had brought into fashion an enigmatical allusion to the name of Francis, devised with these friars' knots and the pansy flower. In Hall's account of the 'field of the cloth of gold,'¹ may be seen this passage:—"The French king and his band were apparelled in purple satin, branched with gold and purple velvet, embroidered with *friars' knots*; and in every knot was pansy flowers, which together signified 'think on Francis.'" Katharine had certainly worn the silk pansy Derham had given her, with the cap garnished with these friars' knots, from which he drew the flattering compliment to his Christian name, "that she thought of Francis."

Derham gave all his money into her keeping; and once, when he was going on some secret expedition, he left the indenture for the obligation of a hundred pounds that was due to him in her custody, telling her clearly, "that if he never returned, she was to consider it as her own,"² Katharine inquired whither he was going, but he would not satisfy her on that point. How long his absence lasted, and of the nature of the business in which he was engaged, there is no evidence; but as he was afterwards accused of piracy, it is possible that he had embarked in a desperate enterprise of that kind, with a view of improving his fortunes. Derham was occasionally tormented with jealousy, and fears of losing Katharine. He especially dreaded her going to court; and as she was eager to go, they had high words on this subject. Derham told her, "If she went, he would not tarry long in the house;" on which she replied, "He might do as he list."

For the sake of obtaining more frequent opportunities

¹ P. 616. The 'friars' knot' was that with which the Franoiscans tied their rope girdles. In the inventory of the princess Mary's jewels there is mention of a necklace of goldsmiths' work of friars' knots, presented to Mr. Selynger's daughter about the same period.—Madden's *Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*, 179.

² Burnet, vol. iii.

of being in Katharine's company, Derham had given up his post in her uncle the duke's military retinue, and entered the service of the duchess-dowager of Norfolk, to whom he was page, or gentleman usher. After a time, the duchess became suspicious of Derham's conduct, and was wont to exclaim, when she missed him, "Where is Derham? You shall find him in the maids' chamber, or with Katharine Howard."¹ By the maids' chamber, the duchess meant the apartment where the damsels in her state establishment sat together at their appointed tasks of embroidery, tapestry work, and spinning. One day she entered unexpectedly, and found Derham not only trespassing within this forbidden bound, but presumptuously romping with her youthful kinswoman Katharine Howard; on which, being greatly offended, she beat them both, and gave Mrs. Bulmer a box on the ears for sitting by and permitting such familiarity.² Yet she did not dismiss Derham, because he was their relation, though she frequently chid the young lady, and sometimes punished her on his account; but the tender age of Katharine appears to have blinded her as to the peril in which she stood. At length the dreadful truth, with all its revolting circumstances, was forced upon the attention of Katharine's careless guardian by one of the women who had long been privy to the matter. The old duchess once more vented her indignation upon Katharine in blows. Katharine was afterwards asked by the council of king Henry, in reference to this report, "Whether the duchess struck her on the discovery of her misconduct, and how often?"³ Her reply to this inquiry has not been preserved.

Derham would, in all probability, have paid with his blood the penalty of his audacity in bringing dishonor on one of the noblest houses in England, but he fled before the storm, and took refuge in Ireland, where, according to most accounts, he pursued the vocation of a pirate. It was doubtless when he snatched a perilous farewell of Katharine, that she, with the tears streaming down her cheeks, uttered

¹ MS. in State-Paper office, 33 Henry VIII.

² Ibid.

³ State-Papers, unpublished.

these memorable words :—"Thou wilt never live to say to me, 'Thou hast swerved.'" ¹ The matter was hushed up out of respect to the feelings of Katharine's noble father, and for the sake of her sisters and other members of her illustrious family, who would have been in some degree involved in her disgrace had it been made public. Her tender age, and the contaminating influence to which she had been exposed, claimed also some compassion for the helpless victim who had been thus early led into sin and sorrow. The household of the duchess was purified of the abandoned women who had warped the youthful mind of Katharine, and the damsel was herself placed under a salutary restraint. It appears, however, that she contrived, through the agency of a female in the house, named Jane Acworth, who possessed the pen of a ready writer, to carry on a secret correspondence. After a time her secretary, ² as she called this person, married a gentleman of the name of Bulmer, and went to live at York; and Katharine, separated from all evil associates, acquired, as she advanced towards womanhood, the retiring grace and feminine reserve natural to that season of life. She even became remarkable for her modest and maidenly deportment.

When Derham found means to return clandestinely from Ireland, and endeavored to renew his intercourse with her, she positively refused to have any communication with him. Reason and reflection had probably taught her to recoil with horror from the man who had cast an irremediable blight on her opening bloom of life. Derham's attachment was, however, of a deep and enduring character, and his unwelcome constancy was to her productive of the most fatal results. There was at that time a report in circulation that a matrimonial engagement was in contemplation between Katharine Howard and her maternal kinsman, Thomas Culpepper; and Derham, attributing her altered manner to her preference of this gentleman, asked her, angrily, "If she were going to be married to him, for he had heard it so reported?"—"What should you trouble me therewith? for you know I will not have you," was Katharine's contemptu-

¹ State-Paper, in Burnet.

² State-Paper MS.

ous rejoinder; "and if you heard such report, you heard more than I do know."¹ Culpepper was Katharine Howard's first cousin, being the nephew of her deceased mother: he was in the household of Anne of Cleves, and is called by the historian Pollino "a most beautiful youth." He and Katharine Howard were playmates in the same nursery in infancy. The vehement opposition of Derham to Katharine's intention of going to court appears like an assertion on his part, as far as circumstances would permit, of a right to control her actions. If, however, he possessed that right, he was in no position to enforce it; and we gather from subsequent evidences² that he returned to Ireland long before there was a prospect of Katharine's fatal elevation to a throne.

It has been generally said that Katharine Howard's first introduction to her sovereign was at a banquet given by the bishop of Winchester to his royal master a few weeks after his marriage with Anne of Cleves. When Gardiner observed the impression made by the charms and sprightly wit of the fair niece of his patron the duke of Norfolk, he contrived that the king should have frequent opportunities of seeing her. Richard Hilles, an English merchant, who was a Protestant, wrote to the Zurich reformer, Henry Bullinger, in these words:—"Before the feast of St. John the Baptist [June 24th], it was whispered about that the king intended to divorce his queen [Anne of Cleves], whom he had married with great pomp in the face of the church, on the feast of the Epiphany last Christmas. It was first of all rumored among the courtiers, who observed the king to be much taken with another young lady, of very diminutive stature." Again Richard Hilles reports, "The king was seen by many citizens of London to pass over the Thames to her in a little boat, frequently in the daytime, and also at midnight. Bishop Gardiner often entertained the king and this little girl, the niece of the duke of Norfolk, making for them feasts at his house. Divorce at first was not dreaded for the queen, but the introduction of a rival on different terms."³

¹ Burnet, vol. iii.

² State-Papers.

³ Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger, Zurich Letters: Parker Society, second series, pp. 201, 202.

Thus scandal was already busy on the subject of the fickle monarch's passion for the miniature beauty in her teens.¹ The date of Katharine Howard's appointment as maid of honor to Anne of Cleves is uncertain, but it probably took place at the time when the queen was deprived of her foreign attendants, and the "straunge maidens" were superseded by some of the noble *belles* of Henry's court. The arrangement that added the new object of the sovereign's regard to the establishment of his despised consort was of course of his own ordaining, as it afforded him the gratification of her society in his royal circle, as well as in his more private hours of relaxation; and thus we see him, for the third time, the avowed lover of a favorite maid of honor. How far his addresses were encouraged by the youthful Katharine is not known. She seems to have behaved with greater propriety than either Anne Boleyn or Jane Seymour under similar circumstances; for no one has accused her of treating the queen with disrespect, or presuming to assume airs of state in rivalry to her. It has been very generally asserted, but on what grounds no one has specified, that Katharine permitted herself to be rendered a political puppet in the hands of Gardiner and her uncle Norfolk, to further their measures against the cause of the Reformation; and that Cromwell, dreading the effects of her influence, spoke of her in very disadvantageous terms to the king, in order to dissuade him from making her his queen. There is great probability in this statement; but that Cromwell's death was attributable to the ill offices of the offended beauty requires proof, for there is not the slightest contemporary evidence, not so much as a private letter, to bear out the assertions of Burnet and Rapin that she prevailed on the king to sign the death-warrant of his fallen minister. Katharine Howard neither possessed the talents, the energy, nor the vindictive temper of her cousin Anne Boleyn. Her

¹ *Parvissima puella* is the expression used by Hilles. "What, then, was the age of this very little girl?" is Lingard's shrewd query after quoting these words. If the computation we have previously given as to the date of her birth be correct, she was in her eighteenth year; it is possible that she was younger. All contemporary authorities speak of her as *very* young.

intrigues were not those of state policy; and as for her subserviency to her uncle Norfolk's wishes, his letters to the king are a sufficient refutation of that report.

After Katharine's removal to court, Derham vanished so entirely from the scene, that no one knew whether he were living or dead. This was an auspicious circumstance for Katharine; but her grandmother, whose share of wisdom was certainly small, could not control the absurd curiosity which prompted her to inquire of her domestics if any of them knew what had become of Francis Derham? They replied, "that none of them knew."—"Then," said the duchess, "if any one knows where he is, belike it will be Katharine Howard." Soon after these inquiries, Katharine, who was then one of the maidens of the court, came to pay her grandmother a visit; and the old lady was guilty of the folly of reviving his apparently forgotten name, by asking her "if she knew where he was? Katharine replied, "that she did not know where he was *become*." ¹

Some years had passed away since the guilt was incurred which had cast so dark a cloud over the hopes and expectations of that period of existence which is generally the golden age of life. Those years had probably been fraught with repentance and bitter regret for her fault; and if they had not led to amendment of life, which charity would lead us to hope, the change in her deportment was so decided that she was remarkable for her maidenly and modest behavior, which, as Henry afterwards declared, formed her greatest attraction in his sight. Marillac, in a letter to Francis I., dated July 21st, thus speaks of the reports connected with Henry's engagement with Katharine:—"Now it is said the king is going to marry a lady of great beauty, daughter to a deceased brother of the duke of Norfolk. It is even said that the marriage has already taken place, but is kept secret. I cannot tell how far it is true." In a letter to the constable Montmorenci, of the same date, he adds, "that he has heard the lady is not only married to the king, but likely to bring him a family." ² The old duchess of Norfolk took infinite pains to secure the royal alliance for

¹ State-Paper MS., Henry VIII.

² Dépêches de Marillac.

her fair young *protégée*. She bestowed costly array and jewels on her to enhance her native attractions, and it was said that she instructed her in what manner to demean herself to the king's highness, so as to please him. She was even guilty of the folly of commending Katharine to the king as a person worthy of the honor of becoming his wife, and one calculated to promote his happiness.¹

If Katharine had flattered herself with the idea that because some years had passed away since her early misconduct had occurred it was forgotten, she must have been undeceived when she received the following letter from one of her former unprincipled confidantes, the person through whose assistance she had carried on a clandestine and forbidden correspondence with her seducer :—

JOAN BULMER TO KATHARINE HOWARD.

"If I could wish unto you all the honor, wealth, and good fortune you could desire, you would neither lack health, wealth, long life, nor yet prosperity. Nevertheless, seeing I cannot as I would express this unto you, I would with these my most heartily salutations *pight* you to know, that whereas it hath been shown unto me that God of his high goodness hath put unto the knowledge of the king a contract of matrimony that the queen² hath made with another before she came into England, and thereupon there will be a lawful divorce had between them; and as it is thought that the king of his goodness will put you in the same honor that she was in, which no doubt you be worthy to have, most heartily desiring you to have in your remembrance the unfeigned love that my heart hath always borne towards you, which for the same kindness found in you again hath desired always your presence, if it might be so, above all other creatures, and the chance of fortune hath brought me, on the contrary, into the utmost misery of the world and most wretched life. Seeing no ways, then, I can express in writing, knowing no remedy out of it, without you of your goodness will find the means to get me to London, which will be very hard to do; but if you write unto my husband and command him to bring me up, which I think he dare not disobey, for if it might be, I would fain be with you before you were in your honor; and in the mean season I beseech you to save some room for me, what you shall think fit yourself, for the nearer I were to you the gladder I would be of it, what pains soever I did take.

"I would write more unto you, but I dare not be so hold, for considering the great honor you are toward, it did not become me to put myself in presence; but the remembrance of the perfect honesty that I have always known to be in you, and the report of sir George Seaford, which hath assured me that the same thing remains in you still, hath encouraged me to this. Whereupon I beseech you not to be forgetful of this my request; for if you do not help me, I am not

¹ MS., State-Paper office; hitherto inedited.

² Anne of Cleves.

like to have worldly joys. Desiring you, if you can, to let me have some answer of this for the satisfying of my mind; for I know the queen of Britain will not forget her secretary, and favor you will show

“Your *umble sarvant*,

“With heart unfeigned,

“JONE BULMER.¹

“York, the 12th day of July.”

The letter of Joan Bulmer was only the foretaste of what Katharine had to expect as the fruits of her early follies. No sooner was the rumor of the king's divorce from his new queen, combined with the report of his passion for her, spread abroad, than she found herself beset with those persons whom, of all the world, it was most to her interest to have kept at a distance. The evil spirits who had departed from her for a season returned to harass and intimidate her with demands which she wanted the moral courage to withstand. In fact, she had no power to extricate herself from these perilous and degrading connections, unless she had revealed her former misconduct to the king. But even if Katharine had been permitted by her family to make such a disclosure to her royal lover, she was placed in a predicament that left her only the alternative of becoming a queen or confessing her own shame: she chose the first. Derham, meantime, though long *perdue*, was not ignorant of the king's passion for his betrothed; for in allusion to it, he said to one of his former comrades, “I could be sure of mistress Howard an' I would, but I dare not. The king be-ginneth to love her; but an' he were dead, I am sure I might marry her.” This speech leads to the conclusion that he was induced to waive his prior claim to the fair object of his sovereign's choice, and it is more than probable that the old duchess of Norfolk was the person who prevailed upon him to remain quiescent; and if so, this would account for the otherwise inscrutable mystery of that lady's conduct in tolerating his presence, and even allowing him to take up his abode in her house a second time, after his misconduct with the young Katharine.

¹ This letter is among the inedited documents preserved in the State-Paper office. The orthography is a little modernized. It is written in a firm bold character, something like that of an engrossing clerk.

The public announcement of the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves was followed by a petition from his servile parliament, beseeching him, for the good of his people, to venture on a fifth marriage, in the hope that God would bless him with a more numerous issue."¹ The nuptials of the royal Bluebeard of English history with Katharine Howard were privately solemnized within a few days, or it might be a few hours, after he was released from his marriage vows to Anne of Cleves. Some persons, as for instance, Marillac, the French ambassador, supposed he did not wait for that ceremony. It seems strange that no particulars of the solemnization of Henry's fifth marriage have ever been brought to light. The day, the hour, the witnesses, and the person by whom the nuptial benediction was pronounced, are not on record; but on the 8th of August, 1540, Katharine Howard was introduced by Henry at Hampton Court as his queen. On that day she took her seat at chapel in the royal closet by his side. She afterwards dined in public, on which occasion she placed her youngest step-daughter, the princess Elizabeth, opposite to herself at table, and always gave her the place of honor next to her own person, because she was the daughter of her cousin Anne Boleyn. On the 15th of August, Katharine was publicly prayed for throughout the realm as queen of England. This is particularly noticed by Marillac, who says, "the king, the queen, and the child, Edward prince of England, were prayed for in all the churches, the new queen's name having superseded that of the repudiated princess of Cleves."²

No surprise is testified by any contemporary at this alliance as derogatory to the king. A close connection already existed between the royal family and Katharine's, in consequence of the former marriage between her uncle, at that time duke of Norfolk, when lord Thomas Howard, with the king's aunt, the lady Anne Plantagenet. As Katharine Howard was first cousin to Henry's second wife, Anne Boleyn, their marriage required a dispensation from the pope, both parties being Roman Catholics; but Henry, in

¹ Journals of Parliament. Lingard. Tytler.

² Leti.

his new character of head of the church, thought proper to dispense with this ceremony. This marriage was the first ever contracted between persons so connected without previously obtaining the papal sanction, and it formed the precedent for all others. Henry had taken care to prepare for the legality of the contract by a previous act of parliament concerning marriages within certain degrees, which bore upon the case.¹

A few days after Henry had acknowledged Katharine for his queen, he conducted her to Windsor, where they remained till the 22d of August. They then made a little progress to Reading, Ewelme, Rycott, Notley, Buckingham, and Grafton. At Grafton the royal bride and bridegroom sojourned from August 29th till September 7th.² The absence of all records of pageantry and processions would indicate that the enamoured monarch had been desirous of enjoying the society of his young queen in the retirement of the country, unfettered by the observations and restraints of royal etiquette. Henry's finances at this period were at a low ebb. The expenses of his pompous nuptials with his unbeloved Flemish bride, and his subsequent gifts and settlements on her, had completely exhausted all his resources. He could neither afford to honor Katharine Howard with a public bridal nor a coronation, but he paid her the compliment of causing gold coins to be struck in commemoration of their marriage, bearing the royal arms of England, flanked with H R, and surmounted with the regal diadem.³ On the reverse is a rose, crowned, in allusion to his bride, flanked by the initials K R, with the following legend:—

“HENRICUS VIII. RUTILANS ROSA SINE SPINA.”

The rose, which Henry, in the first transports of his short-lived passion for his Howard queen, chose for her symbol, makes a conspicuous figure in the augmentation which he granted to her armorial bearings in honor of her marriage.⁴

¹ Speed. Journals of Parliament.

² Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii.

³ Engraved in Vertue's Howard-hook, and through the kindness of Philip Howard, Esq. M.P., of Corby castle, I have been favored with a tracing.

⁴ In the arms of Katharine Howard, Henry impaled with his own the royal

Among the inedited MSS. in the State-Paper office, we find a list of the officers of state and ladies of queen Katharine Howard's royal household. The ladies were those of the highest rank in the kingdom, and some of them members of the royal family:—

"The great ladies of the queen's household.—The lady Margaret Douglas (niece to the king), the duchess of Richmond (daughter-in-law to the king, and cousin to the queen), the duchess of Norfolk (widow of the queen's grandfather), the countess of Sussex, the lady Howard, the lady Clinton.

"Ladies of the privy-chamber.—The countess of Rutland, the lady Rochford, lady Edgecomb, lady Baynton (the queen's sister).

"Chamberers.—Mrs. Tylney, Mrs. Morton, Mrs. Fryswith, Mrs. Luffkyn.

"Gentlewomen of the privy-chamber.—Mrs. Herbert, Mrs. Tyrwhitt, Mrs. Leye, Mrs. Gilmyr.

"Ladies and gentlewomen attendant.—The lady Dudley, lady Arundel (the queen's sister), lady Denny, lady Wriethesley, lady Heneage, lady Knevet, lady Cromwell (sister to the deceased queen Jane Seymour), Mrs. Mewtas, Mrs. Broughton.

"Maids of honor.—The lady Lucy, Mrs. Basset, Mrs. Garnyshe, Mrs. Cowpledike, Mrs. Stradling, Mrs. Stonor."

A list of yeomen ushers, yeomen of the chambers in ordinary, pages of the chambers, and pages in ordinary follows. The names of the officers of the household are not of any particular interest. Her chaplains were Drs. Malet and Oglethorpe: the latter held the office of almoner to her predecessor, Anne of Cleves. Sir Thomas Denny was her chancellor at first, but was afterwards superseded by her sister's husband, sir Thomas Arundel.

The historians of this period bear universal testimony to the passionate fondness of the king for his new consort. Marillac, the French ambassador, who had enjoyed the opportunity of paying his compliments to the royal pair on their marriage, in a letter to his own sovereign Francis I.,

quartering of Brotherton; whilst, in further evidence of her royal descent, one of the quarterings was formed of the arms of France and England.—Life of Surrey, by sir H. Nicolas. The full achievement of queen Katharine Howard is as follows: *Azure, three fleurs-de-lys in pale, or, between two flaunches, ermine, each charged with a rose, gules.* The escutcheon of this queen, within a chaplet of leaves and red and white roses, ensigned with a royal crown, was painted on the east window of Gresham College hall, in the city of London, from which it was delineated the 22d of July, 1669.—Sandford's Genealogical Hist. of England, p. 459, fol. ed.

dated September 3, 1540,¹ gives the following lively sketch of Katharine's appearance in her bridal court, and Henry's demeanor to her. "The new queen is a young lady of moderate beauty, but superlative grace: in stature she is small and slender. Her countenance is very delightful, of which the king is so greatly enamoured that he knows not how to make sufficient demonstrations of his affection for her, and very far exceeds the caresses he ever bestowed on the others. She is dressed after the French fashion, like all the other ladies of this court, and bears for her device round her arms, *Non aultre volonté que le sienne*, 'No other will than his.'" The expression *beauté médiocre*, which is used by Marillac in reference to this queen, would seem to infer that Katharine was not so remarkable for her personal charms as she has been represented by historians; but, independently of the acknowledged fact that opinions vary greatly on the subject of female loveliness, Marillac might only mean to qualify his first notice of Katharine when speaking of her from report, in which he says "the king is going to marry a young lady of the greatest beauty." Marillac's royal master, Francis I., having been much harassed with Henry's requisitions for him to provide him with a consort endowed with perfections such as are seldom to be found in mortal woman, had probably demanded of his accredited spy at the court of England an accurate description of the lady whom his queen-killing friend considered worthy the honor of becoming his next victim. The only authentic portrait of the Howard queen is an original sketch of her among the Holbein heads in the royal library at Windsor.² She is there represented as a fair blooming girl in her teens, with large laughing blue eyes and light brown hair, which is folded in Madonna bands on either side a brow of childlike simplicity: she has a nose *retroussé*, and very full red lips. It is the countenance of an unintellectual little romp trying to assume an air of dignity, and reminds us of a good-humored Flemish peasant rather

¹ Extracted by sir Cuthbert Sharpe from *Dépêches de Marillac*, preserved in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*.

² Drawn by Mr. Harding, and engraved for this biography.

than a courtly beauty and a queen. Instead of the slender graceful proportions described by Marillac, she is so plump and round that she appears literally bursting out of her tight bodice, which is made very high, and fits closely to her shape. It opens a little in front, and is fastened with a small round brooch. Her head-dress, which is very formal and unbecoming for so young a person, is a small French hood sitting quite flat to the head, with a narrow plaited border. It is possible that Holbein's sketch of Katharine Howard was taken some months after her elevation to the throne, when she might have lost her delicate contour.

If the charms of royalty and power had lulled the young queen into forgetfulness of the precarious tenure on which these perilous distinctions were held by Henry's wives, she was full soon reminded that the sword was suspended over her own head by a single hair. Within three weeks after her marriage with the king, mysterious reports to her disparagement were in circulation, for, on the 28th of August, the attention of the privy council was called to the fact that a certain priest at Windsor was accused, with others of his company, of having spoken unbecoming words of the queen's grace, for which he and another person had been apprehended. The priest was committed to the custody of Wriothesley, the king's secretary, and the other incarcerated in the keep of Windsor castle.¹ How alarming any investigation of scandals that might lead to the discovery of those passages in her early life which have been detailed in the preceding pages of this memoir must have been to the queen may be imagined. With such a secret as she had on her mind, her diadem could have poorly compensated her for the agonizing apprehensions under which she must have writhed while the examinations were pending. Henry, being in the first intoxication of his bridal happiness, passed the matter lightly over. "The priest was simply enjoined to confine himself to his own diocese, and admonished by his majesty's command to be more temperate in the use of his tongue;" but the person from whom he had heard the unbecoming words of the queen, which had been unguardedly

¹ Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.

Lady Jane Seymour, afterward
Queen of Henry VIII

*After the Painting by Hans Holbein now in the
Belvedere Gallery, Vienna*



repeated by him, was confined till further order.¹ It was, in all probability, this affair that afforded her enemies the first clue to Katharine's early errors, though the cloud passed over for a time. If she had been of a vindictive temper, a severer penalty might have been paid by those who had thus maligned her within the verge of her own court, and measures would have been taken to put to silence every tongue that ventured to disparage her.

After a short sojourn in the sylvan bowers of Grafton, the court removed to Ampthill. While there the royal household appears to have required reform, for we find that "Robert Tyrwit, Esq., the vice-chamberlain to the king, and sir Edward Baynton, knight, the queen's vice-chamberlain, and divers other gentlemen the king and queen's servants, to the number of sixteen, were advertised of the king's pleasure concerning the sober and temperate order that his highness would have them to use in his highness's chamber of presence and the queen's; as also the behavior of themselves towards the king's privy council, gentlemen of the privy-chamber, and all other his highness's servants of every degree." Katharine could have had little control over such of her attendants as had pertinaciously attached themselves to her fortunes. Joan Bulmer was one of her bedchamber women, so also was Katharine Tylney, a person only too well acquainted with her former misconduct, and, worst of all, the profligate villain Manox was in her service, as one of the royal musicians. At Ampthill the king and queen remained till the 1st of October, after which they withdrew to the greater seclusion of More park, in Hertfordshire; and while there, Henry, being impatient of the slightest interruption or intrusion, issued the following gracious orders, through his privy council, to queen Katharine's vice-chamberlain and his own, and all the officers of the royal household, "that from henceforth they should in no wise molest his royal person with any suit or petition, but cause all suits or supplications to be made in writing, and delivered to his council."²

¹ Sir H. Nicolas's *Acts of Privy Council*, 32 Henry VIII., vol. vii. p. 89.

² *Acts of Privy Council*, vol. vii.

The court returned to Windsor, October 22d. At this period reports were in circulation that Henry was about to dismiss Katharine and reinstate Anne of Cleves in her place, and that the repudiated queen was likely to become a mother at a very unseasonable juncture for all parties. Marillac, whom no particle of gossip seems to escape, thus notices these rumors:—"It is false what has been said about the king leaving the new queen to take the one whom he has repudiated, for he bestows so many caresses on her he now has, with such singular demonstrations of affection, that it cannot be. That which caused the report was, that it has been said the other lady, who has been indisposed, was pregnant." In his next letter to Francis I., dated November 1st, he says, "It is believed that the new queen has entirely gained the favor of the king, and of her who was lately queen they speak no more than if she were dead."

Katharine held her court at Windsor rather better than a month. The acts of the privy council of November 23d specify, "that the king and the queen, accompanied only by the lord privy-seal, the lord admiral, the master of the horse, the vice-chamberlain of the privy council, and the ladies, gentlemen, and gentlewomen of their privy chamber, departed to Oking, where they remained until the 7th of December; upon which day his highness with the queen's grace departed to Oatlands, and there remained till the 18th of the same month, when they returned to Hampton Court."¹ Henry VIII., in his journeys and removals, was on former occasions attended by his council; but now he dispensed with their presence, that he might spend his Christmas at Hampton Court in the society of his young queen without the interruption of business or the restraints of royal pomp. The first separation, after a marriage of six months, that had occurred between the king and queen took place February 7, 1541, when the king, for the despatch of business, removed to London, with his personal attendants, "only leaving behind him at Hampton Court the queen's grace, with the whole household: he returned again the tenth day."²

¹ Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii.

² Ibid., p. 130.

No sort of pomp or regal splendor distinguished the court of Katharine Howard. We find no records of her indulging her love of dress in the purchase of costly robes or jewelry, nor of gifts bestowed on her kindred or favorites. So quiet and unostentatious was the tenor of her life at this period, that the only matter worthy of notice during her residence at Hampton Court is the order to her tailor, dated March 1st, to provide the following needful articles for the use of the venerable countess of Salisbury, at that time an attainted prisoner in the Tower of London, under sentence of death, and despoiled of all her substance:—

“Imprimis, a night-gown furred, a kirtle of worsted, and a petticoat furred.

“Item, another gown of the fashion of a night-gown, of saye lined with satin of cypress, and faced with satin.

“Item, a bonnet and a frontlet.

“Item, four pair of hose.

“Item, four pair of shoes and one pair of slippers”¹ (probably slippers).

The warm clothing provided for her by queen Katharine was probably the means of preserving the venerable princess to undergo a fate not less dreadful than that of perishing with the cold in her cheerless prison lodgings. Katharine's dower was settled on her by the king's letters-patent previous to the Easter festival: other grants, licenses, and concessions are secured to her by the same instruments. The whole of the spring and part of the summer were spent by Henry and Katharine in domestic retirement at the country palaces of Greenwich and Eltham, or in making progresses through Kent, Essex, and the midland counties.

If, as asserted by the majority of historians, Katharine had remained under the political guidance of her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner bishop of Winchester, it is certain that, as her influence with the king increased, she grew impatient of the tutelage of her uncle, who certainly did not possess the art of conciliating the affections of the ladies of his family, since he was at open variance with his wife, his sister, his daughter, and his step-mother, the duchess-dowager of Norfolk. It might be that Katharine took part in the quarrel between him and the last-named

¹ Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii., p. 147.

lady, with whom she was certainly on terms of the greatest confidence; but from whatever cause their disagreement arose, it was highly imprudent of the queen, who was naturally an object of jealousy and distrust to the Protestant party, to deprive herself of the protection and support of her powerful kinsman. The event afforded a striking exemplification of the divine proverb, that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Katharine, in the pride of youth and beauty, and blinded by her boundless influence over the mind of a royal husband, forgot, perhaps, that the throne to which his capricious passion had exalted her was based on the graves of three of her predecessors, and that it was only too likely to prove in her own case (as in that of Anne Boleyn) a splendid ascent to a scaffold: she imagined that while she was all-powerful with Henry, she might defy the rest of the world.

The whole realm was then split into two great parties, so nicely matched, as to strength and numbers, that the ruling balance was in the hand of the sovereign, to dispose according to his own pleasure. It was that power which rendered Henry VIII. a despotic monarch, and enabled him to trample on the boasted laws and liberties of Englishmen with impunity. Catholics and Protestants had succumbed alike to his evil passions, and endeavored to use them as political weapons in their struggles with each other for mastery. The contest had commenced when Henry's divorce from Katharine of Arragon was first agitated, and the Protestant party supported the interests of Anne Boleyn.¹ Five years had passed away since those rival queens had vanished from the arena, and yet the names of Anne and Katharine were still the watchwords of the warring parties; for Henry was again the husband of two living wives bearing those names, and the legality of his divorce from the Protestant queen Anne and his marriage with the Catholic Katharine was almost as much questioned by his Protestant subjects as his divorce from Katharine of Arragon and his marriage with Anne Boleyn had been by the Catholics. Thus we see that Katharine Howard was regarded by the

¹ Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.

reformed party in much the same light as Anne Boleyn had formerly been by the Catholics. It was fondly imagined by persons who regarded Anne of Cleves as Henry's lawful queen that he might be won to a reconciliation with her if he could be convinced of the unworthiness of her fair successor to fill her place. That the duke of Cleves was so persuaded we have shown in the preceding memoir, and it is a fact that throws some light on the diplomatic tact with which the political leaders of that party had organized their plans for the downfall of Katharine Howard.

The early follies of Katharine were known to too many not to have reached the persons most interested in destroying her influence with the king; and if they delayed striking the blow that was to lay her honors in the dust, it was only to render it more effectual. The "snake was to be killed, not scotched." A crisis at length arrived which afforded a favorable opportunity for carrying the project into execution. There was a Catholic insurrection in Yorkshire this spring, headed by sir John Neville. Henry, attributing this to the influence of cardinal Pole, gave orders for the execution of the venerable countess of Salisbury, his mother, who had lain under sentence of death in the Tower for upwards of a twelvemonth. Her sentence had been basely and illegally procured by Cromwell, just before his own arrest for treason.¹ His execution, and probably the influence of the new queen, had thus long delayed the headsman's axe from descending on the guiltless victim. She was the last of the Plantagenets, and, with a spirit not unworthy of her mighty ancestors, refused to submit to an unjust sentence by laying her head upon the block. "So should traitors do," she said, "but I am none; and if you will have my head, you must win it as you can." A scene of horror followed, which was concluded by the ruffian minister of Henry's vengeance dragging the aged princess by her hoary hair to the block, where he "slovenly butchered her, and stained the scaffold from veins enriched with all the royal blood of England."²

¹ Herbert. Guthrie. Lingard.

² Guthrie. Lingard. Tytler. Rapin. Burnet.

Henry's mistrust of the Catholic party, in consequence of the late insurrection, induced him to leave the administration of affairs in the hands of an anti-papal council, headed by Cranmer, Audley the lord chancellor, and Seymour earl of Hertford, the brother of the late queen Jane, when he proceeded on his journey into Yorkshire. Queen Katharine was the companion of his journey: they left London early in July, passed some days at the palace at Grafton, and so travelled through Northampton and Lincolnshire to York.¹ The progress was attended with some degree of splendor, but more of terror. Henry was received by his subjects on the road as a destroying angel, ready to inflict the vengeance of Heaven on the counties implicated in the late revolt. As the best propitiation they could devise, the men of Lincolnshire offered him money in all the towns through which he passed with his fair young queen:² probably he would not have been appeased without blood also, if she who possessed the art of charming his fury-passions had not been at his side. In Yorkshire the king and queen were met by two hundred gentlemen of the shire, in coats of velvet, with four thousand tall yeomen and serving-men, who on their knees made a submission by the mouth of sir Robert Bowes, and gave the king 900*l*. Katharine witnessed a pageant of no less interest when the archbishop of York, with upwards of three hundred ecclesiastics and their attendants, met the king on Barnesdale, and made a like submission, with the peace-offering of 600*l*. Like submission was made by the mayors of York, of Newcastle, and of Hull, each of whom gave the king 100*l*. In the course of their progress, Katharine held a court at her dower-manor of Shire, which, in memory of that circumstance, is still called 'queen's-hold.'

It was during this fatal progress that Katharine, when at Pontefract castle, sealed her own doom by admitting her former paramour, Francis Derham, into her household as a gentleman in waiting and private secretary to herself. Sharon Turner, following lord Herbert and some other writers, says, "that Derham was only employed on two or

¹ Acts of Privy Council. Hall. Guthrie.

² Ibid.

three occasions, in the absence of the queen's secretary, to write her private letters." When we reflect on the nature of some of the letters the unfortunate Katharine was in the habit of receiving, we may readily suppose she preferred the dreadful alternative of employing Derham as her amanuensis, rather than a person unacquainted with her fatal secret. It is a doubtful point whether the "mysteries of writing," and consequently of reading letters, were among the accomplishments of this ill-fated queen. Joan Bulmer's epistle, previous to the royal marriage, claims Katharine's grateful remembrance on the grounds of having exercised her clerkly skill in her service when but a private gentlewoman, and it is certain that no letter written by Katharine can be found: even her signature has been vainly sought at the State-Paper office and elsewhere. The duchess of Norfolk has been accused of having herself introduced Derham into her grand-daughter's court,¹ and desired her to give him some appointment in her household. It is to be lamented that neither of these unhappy ladies had the moral courage to put a stern negative on his audacious demand of preferment. That it was not willingly given may certainly be inferred from the fact that Katharine had been queen of England upwards of a year before she granted this appointment, the date of which, according to Holinshed, was the 27th of August, 1541. On the 29th of the same month her cousin Thomas Culpepper had a long private interview with her at Lincoln, in her closet or privy-chamber at eleven at night, no one being present but lady Rochford, her principal lady in waiting, by whom he was introduced. The conference lasted many hours, and at his departure the queen presented him with a chain and a rich cap.² This secret meeting, and the unseasonable time at which it took place, was afterwards construed into a proof of a criminal intimacy between the queen and her kinsman; but if Katharine had really been engaged in an intrigue with this near relation, she would scarcely have hazarded bringing him and Derham into contact, knowing as she did the jealous temper and lawless character of her seducer. Culpepper

¹ Holinshed. State-Paper MS.

² Burnet. Rapin.

was one of the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber: he had lately committed a frightful crime in his native county, and had, moreover, perpetrated murder when resisting his apprehension. Henry VIII. pardoned him his complicated guilt,¹ but it was very probable that distress, caused by the expenses of his situation, had impelled the interview with the queen, his kinswoman, and his extortion from her of such jewels as she had nearest at hand.

The king and queen arrived at York about the 14th of September, and tarried there twelve days. Great preparations had been made for the reception of Henry's nephew, James V. of Scotland; but that prince, placing no great reliance on his uncle's principles, excused himself from accepting his invitation to meet him there. Henry and Katharine quitted York September 26th, and that night they supped and slept at Holme,² an ancient moated mansion, which had been recently forfeited to the crown by the rebellion of sir Robert Constable. On the 1st of October they reached Hull, where they remained five days, and crossing the Humber, they pursued their homeward route through Lincolnshire. In one of the letters from the council with the king to that in London, Mr. secretary Wriothesley writes, "The king and queen, and all the train, be merry and in health." In the course of this progress Katharine enjoyed more of the pomp and pageantry of royalty than had fallen to her lot since her marriage with the king. The truth was, they travelled at the expense of the wealthy aristocracy of those counties which, having been recently involved in rebellion, omitted nothing that was likely to conciliate the offended sovereign. Henry, who became every day more enamoured of his young queen, took great delight in displaying her to his people in his public entrances into the principal towns in their route, and omitted nothing that was likely to give her pleasure. Katharine, being of a plastic age and

¹ Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger, Zurich Letters, second series: Parker Society, p. 226.

² Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii. Holme is now the seat of the Hon. P. Stourton, who married Katharine, the eldest daughter of H. Howard, Esq., of Corby, descended from the same stem as the unfortunate queen Katharine Howard.

temper, readily adapted herself to his humor, and made it her study to amuse and cheer him when he came to her fatigued and harassed with the cares of state. The increase of her influence during this progress was beheld with jealous feelings by those who were naturally desirous of destroying her credit with the king; and the circumstance of the royal travellers resting one night at the house of sir John Gorstwick, who had, during the preceding spring, denounced Cranmer in open parliament "as the root of all heresies," was sufficiently alarming to that primate. There was, moreover, a select meeting of the privy council, at which Gardiner presided, held at Gorstwick's house, affording strong confirmation to the assertions of Burnet and Rapin, that Cranmer had reason to believe that he should very shortly follow Cromwell to the scaffold, unless some means were found of averting the gathering storm.

At this momentous crisis the archbishop communicated to his colleagues, the earl of Hertford and the lord chancellor, the particulars of the queen's early misconduct in the house of the duchess of Norfolk, which had been conveyed to him by John Lassells, brother of the vile woman who had connived at the indiscretions, and finally the guilt, of the unhappy girl. This disclosure was stated to have taken place in a conversation between Lassells and his sister, in consequence of his advising her to ask for a place in the queen's household, as others had done; to which Mary said "she did not wish to enter into the service of the queen, but that she pitied her."—"Why so?" asked Lassells. "Marry!" replied the other, "because she is light both in conditions and living," and then she related the tale of Katharine's lapse from virtue with Derham in revolting terms.¹ Alas for the motherless child who had, in the most perilous season of woman's life, been exposed to the contaminating society of such a female! The disclosure was regarded by the earl of Hertford and the lord chancellor as a matter proper to be laid before the king, and the task was deputed to Cranmer.²

¹ Acts of the Privy Council. Lord Herbert's Henry VIII. White Kennet. Burnet.

² Ibid.

KATHARINE HOWARD,

FIFTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER II.

The queen unconscious of her danger—Fondness of the king—Their return to Windsor—Arrival at Hampton Court—The king's thanksgiving for his conjugal happiness—The queen accused by the privy council—Grief of the king—She is arrested—Her terror and agonies—Evidence against her—Lady Rochford implicated—Queen sent to Sion house—Deprived of her royal state-attendance—The duchess of Norfolk and the queen's kindred arrested—Derham and Culpepper imprisoned—Derham and his confidant tortured—Duchess of Norfolk's terror and sickness—Her depositions and danger—Fresh tortures inflicted on Derham and Dampart—They are executed—Queen's attainder—Is brought to the Tower—Condemnation—Her message—Protestations to her confessor—Queen executed with lady Rochford—Interment—Contemporary verses on her fate.

THE queen, unconscious of how dark a cloud impended over her, was receiving fresh tokens of regard every hour from Henry, who behaved as if it were his intention to prove to the world

“How much the wife was dearer than the bride.”

They arrived at Windsor on the 26th of October, and proceeded to Hampton Court on the 30th, in readiness to keep the festival of All Saints.¹ Henry and Katharine both received the sacrament that day. Henry, on this occasion, while kneeling before the altar, raised his eyes to heaven, and exclaimed aloud, “I render thanks to thee, O Lord! that after so many strange accidents that have befallen my marriages, thou hast been pleased to give me a wife so entirely conformed to my inclinations as her I now have.” He then requested his confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, to prepare a public form of thanksgiving to Almighty God for

¹ Acts of Privy Council.

having blessed him with so loving, dutiful, and virtuous a queen. This was to be read on the morrow, which was All Souls' day; but on that fatal morrow, while Henry was at mass, the paper that contained the particulars of the misconduct of her whom he esteemed such a jewel of womanhood and perfect love to himself was put into his hands by Cranmer, with a humble request that he would read it when he was in entire privacy.¹ The object of Cranmer in presenting the information against the queen to Henry in the chapel was evidently to prevent the announcement to the people of the public form of thanksgiving which had been prepared by the bishop. The absence of Katharine from her accustomed place in the royal closet afforded the archbishop the better opportunity of striking this decisive blow.

Henry, at first, treated the statement as a calumny invented for the destruction of the queen; for, as he himself afterwards declared, "he so tenderly loved the woman, and had conceived such a constant opinion of her honesty, that he supposed it rather to be a forged matter than the truth." On which, being greatly perplexed, he sent for the lord privy-seal, the lord admiral, sir Anthony Browne, and sir Thomas Wriothesley, to whom he opened the case, saying, at the same time, "He could not believe it to be true; and yet, the information having been once made, he could not be *satisfied* till the certainty thereof were known, but he would not, in any wise, that in the inquisition any spark of scandal should arise against the queen."² He then despatched the lord privy-seal to London, where John Lassells was secretly kept, to try if he would stand to his saying. Lassells reiterated his tale, and added, that "He would rather die in the declaration of the truth, since it so nearly touched the king, than live with the concealment of the same." His sister was also examined, who gave evidence of the early misconduct of the queen. That Katharine had admitted Derham and Manox, with Joan Bulmer and other persons who were acquainted with her fatal misconduct, into her royal household was probably a matter in which

¹ Herbert. Burnet. Rapin.

² Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii. 354.

she had no choice, as she was entirely in their power ; but the circumstance of their being there afforded a startling confirmation of the charges against her.

Wriothesley received express instructions from the king to take Derham into custody on an accusation of piracy, because he had been formerly noted in Ireland for that offence,¹ making that pretence lest any spark of suspicion should get abroad from his examination. The arrest was effected ; and Henry's wrathful jealousy having been powerfully excited by a report that the old duchess of Norfolk should have had the folly to say, when in the queen's chamber, to a certain gentlewoman, "There," pointing to Derham, "this is he who fled away into Ireland for the queen's sake," caused him to be examined very sharply as to the nature of his connection with the queen.² Derham boldly acknowledged "that a promise of marriage had been exchanged between himself and the queen many years previous to her union with the king ; that they had lived as man and wife while he was in the service of her grandmother the duchess of Norfolk ; and that they were regarded in that light among the servants in the family. That he was accustomed to call her wife, and she had often called him husband, before witnesses ; that they had exchanged gifts and love-tokens frequently in those days ; and he had given her money whenever he had it. He solemnly denied that the slightest familiarity had ever taken place between them since Katharine's marriage with the king."³ This was the substance of his first statements, freely given, nor could the extremity of torture wring from him anything of further import against the queen ; neither is there the slightest evidence tending to convict her of having renewed her criminal intimacy with him.⁴ On the contrary, it would appear by the bitter scorn of her expressions, when compelled to name him,⁵ that he had become the object of her greatest aversion after she had seen the folly of her early infatuation, and felt the blight his selfish passion had been the means of casting on her morning bloom of life.

¹ Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii. p. 354.

² State-Paper MS.

³ State-Papers, vol. i.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Queen Katharine's examination, in Burnet.

According to the historical traditions of Hampton Court, the wretched Katharine called incessantly on the name of her royal husband, and made more than one desperate attempt to see him. The first time was at the hour when she knew he would be at mass in the chapel, and although she had been ordered to confine herself to her own chamber, she was not so strictly kept but she watched her opportunity to rush into the private gallery leading from her bedroom to the queen's entrance to the royal closet in the chapel, and was with difficulty prevented from bursting into his presence, with the declared intent of throwing herself at his feet and imploring his mercy, or claiming his protection. When she was stopped and carried back, she struggled violently, and her screams were heard by every one in the chapel. On another occasion, she escaped from her chamber, through the low door in the alcove at the bed's head, into the back-stairs' lobby, and though instantly pursued, she reached the foot of the private stair, called 'the maid of honor's stair,'¹ before she was overtaken and brought back. Local superstition long asserted that the phantom of a shrieking lady, clothed in white, with dishevelled hair, haunted that gallery and staircase. But to return to sober facts: when the result of the first day's investigation was brought to the king by the persons employed in that business, he seemed like a man pierced to the heart;² and after vainly struggling for utterance, his pride and firmness gave way, and he burst into a passion of tears. He left Hampton Court the next morning without seeing the queen, or sending her any message. The same day the council came to her in a body, and informed her of the charge that had been made against her. She denied it with earnest protestations of her innocence, but the moment they were gone fell into fits so violent that her life and reason were that night supposed to be in danger.³ When this was reported to the king, he sent Cranmer to her in the morning with a

¹ The staircase so called led from the lobby of the queen's back-stairs to that portion of the ancient Tudor palace which was demolished.

² Acts of Privy Council. Herbert. Lingard. Guthrie.

³ Lingard. Tytler. State-Papers.

deceitful assurance, that "If she would acknowledge her transgressions, the king, although her life had been forfeited by the law, had determined to extend unto her his most gracious mercy." Katharine, who was in a state of frantic agony when the archbishop entered, was overpowered with softer emotions on hearing the message, and unable to do more than raise her hands with expressions of thankfulness to the king for having shown her more mercy than she had dared to asked for herself.¹ In the evening Cranmer returned to her again, when, finding her more composed, he drew from her a promise "that she would reply to his questions as truly and faithfully as she would answer at the day of judgment, on the promise which she made at her baptism, and by the sacrament which she received on All Hallows' day last past."²

The particulars of the queen's behavior during these interviews, and the agonizing state of excitement in which she was at this dreadful crisis of her fate, will be best detailed in the following letter from Cranmer to the king:—

CRANMER TO HENRY VIII.

"It may please your majesty to understand, that, at the repair to the queen's grace, I found her in such lamentation and heaviness as I never saw no creature, so that it would have pitied any man's heart in the world to have looked upon her; and in that vehement *rage*³ she continued (as they informed me which be about her) from my departure from her unto my return again, and then I found her, as I do suppose, far entered towards a *franz*y, which I feared, before my departure from her, at my first being with her. Surely, if your grace's comfort had not come in time, she could have continued no long time in that condition without a *franz*y, which, nevertheless, I do yet much suspect to follow hereafter. As for my message from your majesty unto her, I was purposed to enter communication in this wise: First to exaggerate the grievousness of her demerits; then to declare unto her the justice of your grace's laws, and what she ought to suffer by the same; and last of all, to signify unto her your most gracious mercy. But when I saw in what condition she was, I was fain to turn my purpose, and to begin at the last part first, to comfort her by your grace's benignity and mercy; for else, the recital of your grace's laws, with the aggravation of her offences, might, peradventure, have driven her into some dangerous extasy, or else into a very *franz*y, so that the words of comfort, coming last, might have come too late. And after I had declared your grace's mercy extended unto her, she held up her hands, and gave most humble thanks

¹ State-Papers.

² Lingard. Tytler.

³ By the word '*rage*' the writer always means *agony*.

unto your majesty, who had showed her more grace and mercy than she herself thought meet to sue for, or could have hoped for. Then, for a time, she became more temperate and moderate, saving that she still sobbed and wept; but after a little pausing, she suddenly fell into a new *rage*, much worse than before. Now I do use her thus: when I do see her in any such extreme *braids*,¹ I do travail with her to know the cause; and then, as much as I can, I do labor to take away, or at the least, to mitigate the cause, and so I did at that time. I told her there was some new fantasy come into her head, which I desired to open unto me; and, after a certain time, when she had recovered herself that she might speak, she cried, and said:—‘Alas, my lord, that I am alive! The fear of death did not grieve me so much before as doth now the remembrance of the king’s goodness, for when I remember how gracious and loving a prince I had, I cannot but sorrow; but this sudden mercy, more than I could have looked for (showed unto me, so unworthy, at this time), maketh mine offences to appear before mine eyes much more heinous than they did before. And the more I consider the greatness of his mercy, the more I do sorrow in my heart that I should so mis-order myself against his majesty.’

“And for all I could say to her, she continued in a great pang a long while. After that, she began something to remit her *rage*, and come to herself; she was metely well until night, and I had good communication with her, and, as I thought, brought her into a great quietness. Nevertheless, at night, about six of the clock, she fell into another pang, but not so outrageous as the first; and that was (as she showed me) because of remembrance, that at that time of the evening (as she said) master Heneage was wont to bring her news of your grace. And because I lack time to write all things to your majesty, I have referred other things to be opened by the mouth of the bearer of this, sir John Dudley, saving I have sent enclosed all that I can get of her concerning any communication with Derham, which, although it be not so much as I thought, yet I suppose is surely sufficient to prove a contract, although she thinks it he no contract. The cause that master Baynton was sent to your majesty was, partly for the declaration of her state, and partly because, after my departure from her, she began to excuse and tamper those things which she had spoken unto me and set her hand, as, at my coming unto your majesty, I shall more fully declare by word of mouth, for she saith, ‘that Derham used to her importuneforce, and had not her free will and consent.’ Thus, Almighty God have your majesty in his preservation and governance.

“From your grace’s most bounden chaplain,

“T. CANTUARIE.”²

From Cranmer’s assertion that the queen had “set her hand” to the paper, it has been inferred that she was able to write, but it might be only her mark of attestation; and, even if she could sign her name, it does not prove her capa-

¹ Paroxysms.

² State-Papers, vol. i. pp. 689–691. This is written entirely with Cranmer’s hand. By the expressions in this letter, which is full of kind feeling, it seems Cranmer really believed Henry would show the mercy he pretended to the wretched girl.

bility of writing letters, or anything beyond a signature. In the whole of this transaction, there is nothing more extraordinary than the perversity of Katharine in refusing to acknowledge that, as far as an obligation which had not received the sanction of the church could go, she was plighted to her kinsman, Francis Derham, before she received the nuptial ring from king Henry. But, with the same headstrong rashness which had characterized her conduct from childhood, she determined to cling to her queenly dignity at all hazards, rather than admit of any plea that would have the effect of rendering her subsequent marriage with the king null and void. The following passages are subjoined, on that point, from her confession, which was sent by Cranmer to the king:—"Being again examined by my lord Canterbury, of contracts and communications of marriage between Derham and me, I shall here answer faithfully and truly, as I shall make answer at the last day of judgment, and by the promise that I made in baptism, and the sacrament I received upon All Hallows' day last past. First, I do say that Derham hath many times moved me unto the question of matrimony, whereunto, as far as I remember, I never granted him more than I have confessed. And as for those words, 'I do promise that I love you with all my heart,' I do not remember that I ever spoke them; but, as concerning the other words, that 'I should promise him by my faith and troth,' I am *sure* I never spoke them. Questioned whether I called him husband, and he me wife? I do answer, that there was communication in the house that we two should marry together, and some of his enemies had envy thereat; wherefore he desired me to give him leave to call me wife, and that I would call him husband, and I said, 'I was content.' And so, after that, commonly he called me wife, and many times I called him husband, and he used many times to kiss me. And I suppose this is true, that at one time he kissed me very often. Some who stood by made observations on his conduct, whereunto he answered, 'Who should hinder him from kissing his own wife?'"¹

King Henry remained in the neighboring palace of Oat-

¹ Queen Katharine Howard's confession: Burnet's Reformation.

lands, whither he had withdrawn to await the result of these investigations. He appears to have been torn with contending passions, and, not venturing to trust to his own feelings with regard to his unhappy queen, he left all proceedings to the direction of Cranmer and the council. Katharine was now placed under arrest, and her keys were taken away from her.¹ On the 11th of October the archbishop of Canterbury, with Wriothesley and Mr. comptroller, received orders to go to the queen, and signify to her the king's pleasure that she should depart on the following Monday to Sion house, while the inquiry pended. The state of a queen was not yet entirely taken from her, but reduced to the following appointments, which are copied from the order in council:—

“The furniture of three chambers, hanged with mean stuff, without any cloth of estate [canopy]; of which three, one shall serve for Mr. Baynton and the others to dine in, and the other two to serve for her use, and with a small number of servants. The king's highness's pleasure is, that the queen have, according to her choice, four gentlewomen and two chamberers, foreseeing always that my lady Baynton be one, whose husband the king's pleasure is should attend the queen, and have the rule and government of the whole house. Besides Mr. Baynton, his wife, and the almoner, the king appointeth none specially to remain with her; the rest are to depart upon Monday next. And the king's pleasure is, that my lady Mary² be conducted to my lord prince's house by sir John Dudley, with a convenient number of queen Katharine's servants.”

Lady Margaret Douglas (the daughter of Henry's sister, the queen of Scotland) had likewise to make way for the disgraced queen's establishment; she was conducted to Kenning hall, and with her went the young duchess of Richmond. The queen's maids of honor were ordered to return to their friends, excepting Mrs. Basset, whom the king, “considering the calamity of her friends, determined to provide for.” The privy council Report states, also,—

“The king's resolution to lay before the parliament and judges the abominable behavior of the queen, but without any mention of precontract to Derham ‘which might serve for her defence,’ but only to open and make manifest the king's highness's just cause of indignation and displeasure. Considering no

¹ State-Papers, vol. i.

² The princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. ‘My lord prince’ was her infant brother, afterwards Edward VI.

man would think it reasonable that the king's highness (although his majesty doth not yet take the degree of her estate utterly from her) should entertain her so tenderly in the high degree and estate of a queen, who for her demerits is so unworthy of the same. Therefore the king's majesty willet, that whoever among you know not only the whole matter, but also how it was first detected, by whom, and by what means it came to the king's majesty's knowledge, with the whole of the king's majesty's sorrowful behavior and careful proceeding in it, should upon the Sunday coming assemble all the ladies and gentlewomen and gentlemen being now in the queen's household, and declare unto them the whole process of the matter (except that ye make no mention of the precontract), but omitting that, set forth such matter as might confound their misdemeanor. Touching the queen's departing from that house and removing to Sion, shall be on Monday next coming, such ladies only to remain at Hampton Court to abide the queen's removing as by advertisements from you of those that shall succeed there; providing always that the ladies keep their day of departure upon Monday, and such only to remain at Hampton Court to abide the queen's removing as shall be attendant at Sion. Giving you, Mr. comptroller, to understand that Mr. Weldon, master of the household, hath been here spoken to, to make provision of wine, beer, and other necessities at Sion for that purpose.

"At the king's palace of Westminster, the 11th November, at night.

"Your loving friends,

"NORFOLK. SOUTHAMPTON. SUFFOLK. RUSSELL.

"ANTONE BROWNE. ANTONY WINGFELD.

"RAFE SADLEYR.

"Furthermore, his majesty's pleasure is, that Mr. Seymour shall remain there, with all the jewels and other things of the queen's, till she be gone, and then to bring them hither. And to the queen's grace ye must appoint six French hoods, with the appurtenances, with edges of goldsmiths' work, so there be no stone or pearl in the same; likewise, as many pair of sleeves, six gowns, and six kirtles of satan damask and velvet, with such things as belong to the same, except always stone and pearl.

"At the court [Westminster], to my lord of Canterbury, at Hampton Court."¹

In parts of this order we trace the lingering tenderness of the king for her who had been so lately the object of his adoring fondness. It is also curious to observe how those who at first raked up the most trivial gossips' tales (that eight years ago circulated among the menials of the duchess of Norfolk), in order to establish the fact of a precontract between Derham and the queen, now caution their colleagues "by no means to mention the *precontract*, lest it should serve her for an excuse to save her life." The council had, in fact, come to the determination of proceeding against the queen on the awful charge of adultery, and,

¹ State-Papers, p. 695.

finding it impossible to convict her of that crime with Derham, they determined to fix it on some other person. But so circumspect had been the deportment of Katharine since her marriage, that the only man to whom she had ever manifested the slightest degree of condescension was her first cousin, Thomas Culpepper, the son of Katharine's uncle, sir John Culpepper, of Holingbourne in Kent. Thomas bore a bad character in his native county, which, however, did not prevent his appointment as a gentleman of the privy-chamber to Henry VIII. before the elevation of his fair kinswoman to the fatal dignity of queen-consort. His name is found among the royal appointments at the marriage of Anne of Cleves, and he distinguished himself in the jousts at Durham house in honor of those nuptials. In the thirty-third year of king Henry he obtained the grant of three manors from the crown. The nearness of their relationship naturally caused great intimacy between him and Katharine, for they had been companions in childhood; but whether there were ever a matrimonial engagement in perspective between them, as suspected by her forsaken and jealous lover, Derham, previous to her union with the king, cannot now be ascertained. It is possible that such a report might have decided the council to implicate him with the queen in a charge of adultery. As this was the only means of dissolving the king's marriage, the queen's female attendants were strictly examined with a view to establish the charge. Whether these unfortunate women were examined by torture, like the men, or only put in terror of it, is not on record; but when we remember that Wriothesley and Rich were the agents by whom the evidences were collected, it may be supposed they were not very scrupulous as to the means they employed. These were the men afterwards found superseding the more merciful executioner in his abhorrent office in the dungeon of the young, the lovely, and pious Anne Askew, when, provoked by her silent fortitude, they threw off their gowns and worked the rack with their own ferocious hands, till they nearly tore her delicate frame asunder. These two men were the most unprincipled and sanguinary of the whole swarm of *parvenus* of whom

Henry's cabinet was composed. Wriothesley is thus portrayed by a contemporary poet:—

“From vile estate, of base and low degree,
By false deceit, by craft and subtle ways,
Of mischief mould, and key of cruelty,
Was crept full high, borne up by various stays.
* * * * *
With ireful eye, or glaring like a cat,
Killing by spite whom he thought fit to hit.”¹

It is impossible to read Wriothesley's reports of the examinations of the witnesses without perceiving his deadly malice against the queen and her kindred. When writing to his colleague Sadler, he does not disguise his satisfaction at “pyking out anything that is likely to serve the purpose of *our business*,” as he calls it. “I assure you,” writes he, “my woman Tylney hath done *us* worthy service and true, as it appeareth.”² That the evidence on which Mr. secretary Wriothesley felicitates himself so highly goes no farther than to prove that the queen was surrounded by spies, who were disposed to place evil constructions on her most trifling departure from the rigor of royal etiquette, let the dispassionate reader judge. The following is a faithful transcript of the curiously indited document which contains the deposition of Katharine Tylney at Westminster, November 13th, 33 Henry VIII.:—“She saith that she remembers at Lincoln the queen went two nights out of her chamber, when it was late, to lady Rochford's chamber, which was up a little pair of stairs by the queen's chamber.”³ And the first night this deponent and Margaret,⁴ her colleague, went up with her; and the queen made them both go down again, but Margaret went up again eftsoons, and this deponent

¹ Cavendish.

² MS. in State-Paper office.

³ The chamber of the lady in waiting is situated precisely in the same way in the royal château of St. Germain's, up a small narrow staircase, through the lobby of the queen's back-stairs, for the convenience of private communication between the queen and her principal female attendant of state. The customs of royalty in those days were much the same in England and France, the precedents having been formed by the French princesses who have worn the crown-matrimonial of this country.

⁴ Katharine Tylney and Margaret Morton were two of the queen's chamberers, or bedchamber women.

went to bed with Mrs. Fryswith (another of the queen's chamberers). As far as she remembereth, when it was late, about two of the clock, Margaret came up to bed to them; and she (Tylney) said to Margaret, 'Jesus! is not the queen a-bed yet?' and Margaret said, 'Yes, even now.' The second night, she says that 'the queen made all her fellows go to bed, and took only this deponent with her; at which time she tarried also in manner as long as she did the other night, during which time this deponent was in a little place with my lady Rochford's woman,' and therefore, 'on her peril,' saith 'she never saw who came unto the queen and my lady Rochford, nor heard what was said between them.'" The only fair way of reporting the examination of witnesses is, by stating both queries and replies verbatim; such was not however the mode of master Wriothesley's recital of Katharine Tylney's deposition, since, by omitting all his own queries and threats, and condensing all her replies into a subtly arranged narrative deposition, he produces an impression "that the queen went into lady Rochford's chamber to meet some person whom the deponent could not see." Now, the tenor of the evidence is simply this, that Tylney saw no one; and even if there had been any one there, the place where she waited with lady Rochford's woman was so situated that she could neither have seen nor heard what passed. But was there any one to see? as Wriothesley endeavors to imply; and to that straightforward question common sense replies, What need of implications by logical subtleties, if a fact so suspicious as the queen meeting any one secretly in her lady in waiting's chamber at dead of night had really been elicited from Katharine Tylney, even by the terror of rack and gibbet. It was a period when admissions so extorted were used as legal evidence; therefore if Tylney had admitted such a proceeding on the part of her unhappy mistress, it would have been stated in report point-blank, without mincing the matter, as presumptive evidence of the general levity and impropriety of the queen, although it could not have established her guilt, since she was not alone.

Equally vague and inconclusive as the above is the con-

text of Wriothesley's recital of Tylney's deposition :—" *Item*. She saith 'that the queen hath caused her to do sundry such strange messages to lady Rochford that she could not tell how to utter them; and at Hampton Court, lately, she bade her go to my lady Rochford and ask her 'When she should have the thing she promised her? And she (lady Rochford) answered, that 'She sat up for it, and she would the next day bring her word herself.' A like message and answer was conveyed to and from my lord of Suffolk.¹ It is, of course, impossible to penetrate into the secret of these messages, but as the king's brother-in-law, Suffolk, was one of the parties concerned, it is impossible to imagine they were any way connected with love-affairs; and if they had been, he would have deposed to that effect. The probability is that they related to supplies of money, or the private purchase of jewels or articles of adornment, which the queen employed the agency of these persons to procure in an underhand way. Katharine, like all persons who have been early initiated into the dark mysteries of sin, had evidently acquired a systematic habit of concealment, even with regard to those trifling actions which, when openly performed, would never excite suspicion.

The testimony of Margaret Morton² (Tylney's companion) is unfavorable to the queen, as far as her own opinion goes. She imagined "that the lady Rochford was a party to some intrigue that the queen was carrying on when she was at Lincoln, Pontefract, and York. . . . When they were at Pontefract," she says, "the queen had angry words with Mrs. Luffkyn (another of the chamberers) and herself, and forbade their attendance in her bedchamber;" on which these two women kept a jealous watch on her majesty's proceedings. "Lady Rochford," Margaret said, "conveyed letters to and from the queen to Culpepper, *as it was supposed*; and that one night, when they were at Pontefract, and the queen was in her bedchamber with no other attendant than my lady Rochford, that lady (which was an unusual thing) did not only lock the chamber door, but bolted it in the inside also; and when the king came

¹ MSS. in State-Paper office, 33 Henry VIII.

² Ibid.

with the intent to pass the night there, he found the door fastened, and there was some delay before he was admitted." It is possible, however, that the queen was in the bath, or so engaged as to render it expedient to fasten her chamber door, for there is no evidence to prove that any *other* person was in the chamber besides the lady in waiting and the queen.

The fate of Anne Boleyn and her brother lord Rochford had recently afforded melancholy witness on how slight grounds a queen of England might be sent to the block, and noble gentlemen (Norris, Brereton, and Weston) "done to death by slanderous tongues." The only evidence adduced in proof of the alleged crime of Anne Boleyn with her brother was, that he had leaned his hand on her bed; and now his widow, who had borne murderous testimony against her lord, was to be brought by retributive justice to an ignominious death on a charge of having been an accomplice in a royal intrigue, because she, as lady in waiting, had been present at an interview between the queen and her first cousin. Lady Rochford was many years older than her thoughtless mistress, and, having been lady of the bedchamber to the four preceding queens, she was well versed in all matters of royal etiquette, and ought to have warned the young, inexperienced consort of a sovereign so jealous as Henry of the misconstructions that might be placed on her conduct, if she gave a private audience to her cousin at an improper hour.

How greatly Katharine's health was shaken by the agitating scenes of that dreadful week, may be gathered from a letter of sir Ralph Sadler, directing the archbishop and Wriothesley to "question the queen again with respect to her intimacy with Culpepper, if they found her in such a state of health and mind as to bear it." Nothing could induce Katharine to admit that there had ever been the slightest impropriety between her and this near relative. None of the great ladies in attendance on the queen were examined. Margaret Douglas, the king's niece, who was the first lady in waiting, however, received a severe reprimand,¹ not for being privy to any levity on the part of the

¹ State-Paper MS.

queen, but for her own misconduct in having entered into a clandestine courtship with lord Charles Howard, who was at the same time the young uncle of the queen, and also the half-brother of her first love, the unfortunate lord Thomas Howard, who died a prisoner in the Tower for having presumed to plight his troth, without the king's consent, to a lady in such near relation to the crown. On the 13th of November, Katharine was removed as a degraded prisoner from Hampton Court to Sion. Her disgrace was proclaimed to her attendants, who were assembled in the Star-chamber for that purpose, and the household was discharged.

Though many of the queen's ladies were, as we have seen, of the highest rank, the lord chancellor entered into all the details, in his declaration of Katharine's former misconduct with Derham when both were in the family of the old duchess of Norfolk. He concluded with an intimation that there was "a still further appearance of abomination in the queen, which for the present he left in a cloud."¹ The very next day Henry's ministers (who were in great haste to proclaim the dishonor of their royal master to foreign nations) addressed a circular announcing the whole order and story of the queen's early frailty and suspected adultery to the king's ministers abroad, and even confided all the details to the French ambassador. Francis I., in return, sent his condolences to Henry on the misbehavior of Katharine Howard, saying, "He was sorry to hear of the great displeasures, troubles, and inquietations which his good brother had recently had by the naughty demeanor of her lately reputed for queen."² The motives of Henry's council in thus blazoning the charges against the queen as facts, before they had been substantiated as such by trial, are glaringly apparent. There was a strong yearning in the king's heart towards her, therefore the chance existed of her regaining her former influence, since no actual evidence could be brought of her disloyalty to him; and, in the event of a reconciliation, those who had accused Katharine would have cause to apprehend punishment for conspiring against

¹ State-Papers, vol. i. p. 684.

² *Ibid.*

her life and fame. They played their perilous game with too much skill to allow the bruised reed to rise again, and before the first transport of Henry's indignation had subsided sufficiently to admit of his forming a dispassionate judgment of the nature of his wrong—

“For to be wroth with what we love
Doth work like madness on the brain”—

they struck a master-stroke of policy, by inducing him to sanction the publication of details which would prevent the possibility of his ever receiving Katharine again as his queen.

In the mean time, information was conveyed to the council that the duchess of Norfolk, on hearing the rumor of the arrest of the queen and Derham, had secretly despatched a confidential servant, named Pewson, to Hampton Court, to ascertain the real state of the case. Pewson, on his return, told his lady “that it was reported that the queen had played the king false with Derham, and that Katharine Tylney was privy to her guilt.” The duchess said “She could not think it was true; but if it were, all three deserved to be hanged.” She then said to Derham's friend, Dampport, “I hear Mr. Derham is taken, and also the queen. What is the matter?”—“Some words, belike, spoken by him to a gentleman usher,” was the reply. The duchess expressed great alarm “lest any harm should befall the queen in consequence of evil reports.” She gave Dampport 10*l.*, doubtless to purchase his silence, and it seems she had been accustomed to allow him an annual stipend.¹

The duke of Norfolk was despatched, by order of the king, to make search at the duchess's house at Lambeth for Derham's papers and effects; before his arrival, however, the old duchess, with the assistance of the yeoman of her kitchen, and some others of her *meiné*, had broken open the coffers and trunks belonging to Derham, and carried off and (as it is supposed) destroyed everything that was likely to be brought in evidence against herself, or any of the parties implicated in a knowledge of the queen's early history.² When the duke reported what had been done by

¹ State-Paper MS., 33 Henry VIII.

² Ibid.

his step-mother, she and all her servants were placed under arrest, and very strictly examined by the council. The following is their account of the examination of one of the subordinates:—"First we began with Ashby, the duchess of Norfolk's man, and wrote on Sunday three or four leaves of paper, where, among many long tales of small importance, he said, that when the duchess broke up Derham's coffers, he (Ashby) and her comptroller (a priest) were present, besides the smith, who picked the one coffer and broke open the other. The duchess took out all the writings and carried them to her chamber, saying she would peruse them at her leisure, without suffering any person to be present: the like she did, also, with such writings as were in his *mail*.¹ She declared that she meant not any of these things to come to revelation. She would have had Ashby take a satin coat belonging to Derham, in the place of 30s. 8d. which Derham owed him, but he refused it. He confessed, also, that the duchess had been in the greatest fear lest Alice Wilks should have told lord William of the familiarity between the queen and Derham. She would have sent one to Calais, to have informed the lord William Howard of this matter, if she had not been advised to the contrary. He (Ashby) confessed that she (the duchess) once said, that 'If there be no offence since the marriage, she (the queen) ought not to die for what was done before;' and also, 'that she demanded whether the *pardon*² would not serve other persons who knew of their naughty life before the marriage.' Also, he confessed that she broke open a chest and two coffers of Dampont's, after he was committed to the Tower, and likewise took out all his writings and letters at this breaking also. Ashby and her comptroller were present, and one Dunn, yeoman of her cellar, who played the smith's part."³ On a second and third examination of the persons concerned in this transaction, nothing further could be learned than that the duchess found several bundles of papers, some ballads, and books with musical notes for

¹ The same as 'malle,' the French word for portmanteau.

² This pardon is frequently mentioned, but is inexplicable.

³ State-Papers, vol. i. p. 697.

playing on the lute, among Derham's effects. How his trunks and personal property came to be in the duchess of Norfolk's house can only be accounted for on the supposition that his office at court did not entitle him to lodgings in the palace; that he was only there in rotation with other gentlemen in waiting, and that his general home was in the house of his noble kinswoman the duchess of Norfolk.

Although his parentage is a mystery, for he appears as if standing alone in the world, connected only by some unexplained tie of kindred with the noble house of Howard, yet he always had the command of money, as we find by his costly presents to Katharine when she was living as a dependant in the house of the duchess. Being cross-questioned on some portions of Katharine Tylney's evidence, touching the duchess of Norfolk's knowledge of his clandestine courtship of the queen when a girl, Derham admitted the fact "that the duchess had once seen him kiss her granddaughter; for which she struck him and beat her, and gave Mrs. Bulmer a blow for permitting it," as related before. "Many times, also," he said, "she would blame him and mistress Katharine." He affirmed "that he was introduced into the royal household by the queen's desire, who told the duchess of Norfolk to bring him;"¹ and this admission is, in reality, the only point in the evidence tending to criminate Katharine after her royal marriage. Then, however, it is to be observed that Derham, from first to last, represented himself as the affianced husband of the queen, whom he still loved with unabated passion; and there can be no doubt, as the ecclesiastical law then stood, that he could have invalidated her marriage with Henry, or any other man, by the proofs he adduced of his prior claim to her hand. Lady Howard deposed that the queen once asked her, "Where Derham was?" and she replied, "He is here with my lord;" and the queen said, "My lady of Norfolk hath desired me to be good unto him." Be this how it might, the circumstance of his being in the household had the worst possible effect on the queen's cause, and

¹ State-Paper MS., 33 Henry VIII.

was used by the council as presumptive evidence that it was her intention to wrong the king. Henry naturally regarded it in that light.¹

Mr. secretary Wriothesley gives a lively account of the terror of the duchess of Norfolk, and her resistance to the royal mandate, when he brought the order for her arrest. The recent butchery of the aged countess of Salisbury of course rendered such a proceeding sufficiently alarming. The duchess immediately fell very ill, and "said she was not well enough to be removed;" on which Wriothesley tells the council, "that he, and the earl of Southampton, and Mr. Pollard went to see her, the better to perceive whether she were indeed as sick as she pretended. . . . At first," says he,² "we entered as though we had only come to visit and comfort her, whereby we perceived, in short space, that she was not so siek as she made for, but able enough to repair to my lord chancellor, as his highness appointed. Then began we to tell her that my lord chancellor had certain questions to demand of her, which should much serve to the clearing of the matter, and so advised her to repair to him, saying the matters were not long, *ne* such as we thought she would not both shortly and truly answer; but here she began to be very sick again, 'even at the heart,' as she said, which was the sickness of mistrust that, if she went, she should not return again. Nevertheless, with much ado we got her to condescend to her going, and so we departed, to the intent that she should mistrust no false measure; and we all stayed at the house of *me* sir Thomas Wriothesley, till we saw her barge pass. We have also travailed this day with Pewson, whom we have in custody, but he is yet stiff. Marry! he confesseth already his going to Hampton Court after Derham's apprehension, 'but the purport of his going to those parts was to buy boards for my lady of Norfolk, and fagots for himself at Kingston,' as he saith; but we think he can, and shall tell another tale, wherein, as in all the rest, we shall travail to the best of our powers to get out the truth. Sir, we pray

¹ State-Paper MS., 33 Henry VIII.

² State-Paper, printed by government, vol. i. p. 696.

you to send hither all such examinations as you have touching these matters, that we may peruse them, and *pick* all such things out of them as may serve to the purpose of our business.”¹

Katharine had now the bitter agony of learning that her aged relative was not only involved in her disgrace, but was sick and in prison, and in peril of being brought to a death of ignominy for having concealed her light conduct. “We twain,” write Southampton and Wriothesley, “went to the Tower, and then first began with my lady of Norfolk, whom we found on her bed, as it appeared very sickly. Pressing her as much as we might to declare some further matter and knowledge touching the misconduct of the queen and Derham, assuring her on his majesty’s behalf of her own life if she would in some sort make us her ghostly confessors, she made us answer, ‘that she would take her death of it that she never suspected any wrong between them.’ She took God to witness that she never thought them to be of that abominable sort she now knoweth them to be of; nevertheless, she will not deny but she perceived a sort of light love and favor between them more than between indifferent persons, and had heard that Derham would sundry times give her (Katharine Howard) money, which she thought proceeded from the affection that groweth of kindred, the same Derham being her kinsman. But in that she told not his majesty thereof before his marriage, and in that she brake Derham’s and Dampart’s coffers, she confesseth to have offended God and his majesty, and beseecheth his highness most humbly, therefore, ‘in his most noble heart to forgive her, and to be her good and gracious lord as he hath been, for otherwise her days would not be long.’ We assure you she appeareth wondrous sorrowful, repentant, and sickly.”²

Queen Katharine and her grandmother were both at this period sick nearly unto death with grief and terror, and in their separate prisons they were assailed with subtle interrogatories day after day by the pitiless members of king

¹ Letter from Wriothesley and Southampton to sir Ralph Sadler.—State-Papers, vol. i.

² State-Papers, p. 722.

Henry's council, of which the purport was to outrage all the ties of nature by rendering them witnesses against each other. Some of the questions put to the unhappy queen bore no reference to her alleged offences, but are standing proofs of the insolent curiosity of those by whom she was examined. She was even asked "what change of apparel the duchess was wont to give her yearly when under her care?" with other questions of the most irrelevant and trivial nature.¹ No evidence proving the crime of adultery against the queen could be extorted from the duchess of Norfolk or any other witness. On the 31st of November, Culpepper and Derham were arraigned for high treason in Guildhall before the lord mayor, contrary to any previous form of law,²—justice was out of the question, for on the right hand of the intimidated civic magistrate sat the lord chancellor, on his left the duke of Suffolk. The lord privy-seal, the earls of Sussex and Hertford, with others of the council, sat also as judges that day.³ By those great state-officers of the crown, some of whom had previously presided while the prisoners were questioned by torture, Derham and Culpepper were adjudged guilty, and condemned to the dreadful death decreed to traitors. But though this sentence was pronounced, no proof of the crime of which they were accused had been established, and as it was considered necessary to substantiate the charge against the queen, they were respited for a few days,—not in mercy, but that they might be subjected to fresh examinations by torture. They bore the extremity of their sufferings from day to day, if not unshrinkingly, without permitting anything that could criminate the queen to be wrung from the weakness of exhausted nature. Culpepper maintained the innocence of his royal kinswoman to the last unswervingly, nor could the extremity of torture draw from Derham an admission that the slightest criminality had passed between himself and Katharine since her marriage with the king.⁴ Dampont, his friend, was subject to the torture of having

¹ Proceedings of the Council, in State-Paper office.

² Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.

³ Holinshed, p. 1583, first edition.

⁴ State-Paper office MS.

his teeth forced out in the brakes, an instrument supposed to be the same as that called 'the duke of Exeter's daughter.' Worn out with his sufferings, Dampport at length desired to speak to one of the council, and he would make confession. The report of the two gentlemen to whom his admissions were made is as follows:—"I, sir John Gage, and I, sir Richard Rich, went to him, and his saying for that time was, that Derham once said to him, when the king favored mistress Katharine, 'I could be sure of mistress Katharine Howard an' [if] I would, but I dare not, the king beginneth to love her; but an' he were dead, I might marry her.'¹ Dampport also confesseth that Derham told him that the duchess of Norfolk once said to a gentlewoman, in the queen's chamber, pointing to him, 'This is he who fled away to Ireland for the queen's sake.' Dampport confesseth this now, but would not do it before for any torture that he could be put to; we have resolved that both he and Derham shall be seriously examined again this day of certain points. Derham maketh humble suit for the remission of some part of the extremity of his judgment, wherein we require you to know his majesty's pleasure. He denied these confessions of Dampport. From Christ's church this Tuesday morning, December 6th."

The council, by the king's direction, gave this reply to the query of the coadjutors in London:—"Touching Culpepper and Derham, if your lordships do think that ye have got as much out of Derham as can be had, that ye shall then (giving them time that they may prepare themselves to God for the salvation of their souls) proceed to their execution."—"We think," writes Wriothsley again, "we can get no more of Derham than is already confessed; therefore, unless we shall hear otherwise from the king's majesty, we have resolved that they shall suffer to-morrow, December 9th." This was followed by an order from the council in London to the council with the king, saying, "Though they thought the offence of Culpepper very heinous, they had given orders for him to be drawn to Tyburn, and there only to lose his head, according to his highness's most gracious

¹ State-Papers, published by government, vol. i.

determination." Derham petitioned for some mitigation of his cruel sentence, but when application was made to the king, the following was the reply:—"The king's majesty thinketh he deserveth no mercy at his hand, and therefore hath determined that he shall undergo the whole execution."¹

On the following day Derham and Culpepper were drawn to Tyburn. Culpepper, out of consideration to his noble connections, was beheaded; Derham was hanged and quartered, with the usual barbarous circumstances of a traitor's death: both protested their innocence of the crime for which they suffered. The heads of both were placed on London bridge. Wriothsesley expresses an enthusiastic wish "that every one's faults who were accused might be totted on their own heads," and thus proceeds to sum up the malefactions of the duchess of Norfolk in the following order:—"First, having knowledge of Katharine's derelictions, she did recommend her to his majesty; and afterwards was a *mean* [medium] for her to extend favor, or rather to renew favor, to Derham. And when Derham was taken and in the Tower for his treason, after the same was declared to her by the whole council, she did secretly break up two chests, and out of the same conveyed all such letters as might manifest her own knowledge of the affair."²

There is something peculiarly characteristic of the man in the zest with which Wriothsesley enters into the proceedings against the unfortunate kindred of the queen. "Yesterday," he writes, "we committed the lord William Howard, his wife, and Anne Howard. The lord William stood as stiff as his mother, and made himself most clear from all mistrust or suspicion. I did not much like his fashion."³ This letter is in confidence to his colleague, and affords shrewd signs of a conspiracy in the council against the queen and her family. Why else should Wriothsesley have disliked the appearance of fearless innocence in lord William Howard, or felt uneasy at the probability of his clearing himself from the charge that was aimed at his life?

¹ State-Papers.

² Ibid., 709, 710.

³ State-Paper MSS., 33 Henry VIII.

As for his property, *that* was immediately sequestered, and strict inquiry made into the truth of a report, "that some of his lordship's stuff [goods] had been thrown into the sea during the stormy passage of lord William and his family from France:" the loss was, however, confined to the mules and horses. The council were greatly embarrassed what to do with the infant children of lord William Howard, four in number, and those of lady Bridgewater, who were thus rendered homeless; but at last they consigned them to the custody of Cranmer, of the bishop of Durham, and lady Oxford, "to be dealt with according to their own discretion and convenience."¹

The unfairness with which the trials of lord William Howard and Dampart were conducted was so great that the master of the rolls, the attorney and solicitor-general, and three of the king's council, the very persons who had taken the examinations, were brought as witnesses against the prisoners, in lieu of other evidence.² The offence of Dampart was simply that of being acquainted with the previous state of affairs between his friend Derham and the queen before her marriage, which, instead of revealing to the king, he had tattled to his acquaintance. He was, in the end, subjected to the most horrible tortures to compel him to make further disclosures, or rather, as the case really stood, to force him to purchase a respite by inventing incidents tending to furnish evidence of a criminal intimacy between Katharine and Derham after her marriage with the king, which the council had failed to prove. If Dampart had possessed any such knowledge, he would doubtless have divulged it, for he had not the faculty of keeping a secret; yet he bore all the inflictions Wriothesley and his colleagues could devise in the shape of torture, rather than bear false witness against the queen and his former friend, Derham. The latter had actually been condemned and hung on the presumptive evidence of having evil intentions. The crime of having seduced a noble maiden whom the king subsequently had unwittingly wedded, was his real offence; but,

¹ Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii. pp. 282, 283.

² Lingard, vol. vi. p. 315.

however deserving he was of death for such a breach of the law of God, his punishment was illegal, as the law of England does not decree the penalty of being hanged, drawn, and quartered for such transgressions.

The members of the council in London, in one of their letters to the council with the king, express a fear, "as the duchess of Norfolk is old and testy, that she may die out of perversity, to defraud the king's highness of the confiscation of her goods; therefore it will be most advisable that she and all the other parties named in a former letter may be indicted forthwith of misprision of treason, whereby the parliament should have better grounds to *confiske* their goods than if any of them chanced to die before the bill of attainder past."¹ Here, then, was a laudable attention to contingencies of life and death for the benefit of the royal purse. Shades of Dudley and Empson! hide your diminished heads, while the proceedings of the monarch who brought ye to the scaffold for deeds of wrong and robbery are unveiled. In a letter dated December 11th, his majesty's council is advertised by the council in London, that they had found the value of 2000 marks in money, and about 600 or 700 in plate, belonging to the duchess of Norfolk.² The disgusting thirst for plunder, which is so marked a feature in the proceedings of the king and his council at this period, was further gratified on the 21st, when Southampton, Wriothesley, and Sadler triumphantly wrote to Henry, to inform him that they had had another interview with the poor sick old duchess, who had voluntarily confessed where she had hid 800*l.* in money of her own property.³ On the news of this unexpected addition to their prey, they informed the aged captive that it was the king's gracious intention to spare her life; whereupon she fell on her knees with uplifted hands, and went into such paroxysms of hysterical weeping that these gentlemen were "sorely troubled" to raise her up again. Henry certainly appears to have derived much consolation for his matrimonial mortifications from the rich spoils of plate, jewels, and money that were torn from the kindred of his unhappy

¹ State-Papers, vol. i.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., MS.

queen. Sir John Gorstwick and John Skinner were appointed to go to Ryegate to lord William Howard's house, to take an inventory of all the money, jewels, goods, and chattels they should find there, and bring the same to the council; Mr. secretary Wriothesley, master Pollard, and Mr. attorney were appointed to go to the duchess of Norfolk's and lord William's houses at Lambeth for the same purpose. Sir Richard Long and sir Thomas Pope were sent on the like errand to the lady Bridgewater's houses in Kent and Southwark: the duchess of Norfolk's house at Horsham had been previously ransacked. Lady Rochford's house at Blickling, in Norfolk, was also put under sequestration.

Dampart, Manox, and the duchess of Norfolk's servants were found guilty of the crime of misprision of treason. They made pitiful supplication for mercy, and the punishment of death was remitted by the king. Mary Lassells was, by the desire of the council with the king, exempted from the indictment for misprision of treason, in which all the parties privy to the queen's early frailty were included. So low had the personal dignity of the sovereign fallen, that a feeling of gratitude was expressed in his majesty's name to this woman, because "she did from the first opening of the matter to her brother seem to be sorry, and to lament that the king's majesty had married the queen."¹ Great credit is given by the council to Mary Lassells for her good service in having revealed the matter, and also that she had refused to enter into the service of the queen. Beyond her own assertion, there is not the slightest evidence that she ever had the offer of doing this, and it was probably Katharine's neglect or forgetfulness of this woman that provoked her to the denouncement. It is impossible to overlook her enmity to the queen throughout. So end the friendships of vice.

The new year opened dismally on the fallen queen, who was still confined to the two apartments hung with mean stuff that had been allotted to her in the desecrated abbey of Sion. Her reflections during the two dreary months she had worn away in her wintry prison may be imagined:

¹ State-Papers, published by government, vol. i.

they were months replete with every agony,—shame, grief, remorse, and terrible suspense. On the 16th of January, 1541–42, the new parliament that was to decide the fate of the queen met at Westminster. Katharine had, indeed, received a promise in the king's name from Cranmer that her life should be spared; but if, relying on the sacredness of that promise, she had fondly imagined the bitterness of death was passed, she must have been the more astounded when the bill for her attainder was brought into the house of lords. She was without friends, counsellors, or money at this awful crisis. The only person who might have succored her in her sore distress was her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, if he had been so disposed. This nobleman was one of the greatest men of the age. In point of naval, military, and diplomatic talents he had no second. He was the premier peer of England, and his unbounded wealth enabled him to retain in his band of pensioners a little standing army of his own, in defiance of all the royal edicts against feudal retainers. He had the power of rising up in the house of lords and demanding that his niece, the queen of England, should be allowed the privilege of an Englishwoman,—a privilege which the lowliest subjects, the most atrocious criminal in the realm, could claim,—a fair trial for the offences of which she had been accused by her enemies; and that, if guilty, she should be proved so by the law, and not treated as such on presumption only.

But Katharine had offended her uncle by withdrawing herself from his political tutelage. Like her fair and reckless cousin, Anne Boleyn, she had spurned his trammels in the brief hour of her queenly pride, and when the day of her adversity arrived, he not only abandoned her to her fate, but ranged himself on the side of her enemies. We have seen how this duke treated Anne Boleyn at the time of her trial; his conduct to the unhappy Katharine, whom he had been partly the means of placing in a situation so full of peril even to a woman of sound principles and approved conduct, appears scarcely less cruel. It is impossible that feelings of personal apprehension could have elicited from the conqueror of sir Andrew Barton, and one

of the victors of Flodden, the expressions we find in the following extract of his letter to the king, on the arrest of the members of his family who were involved in the disgrace of the queen :—

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

"Most noble and gracious Sovereign Lord: yesterday came to my knowledge that mine ungracious mother-in-law, mine unhappy brother and his wife, with my lewd sister of Bridgewater, were committed to the Tower, which I (by long experience knowing your accustomed equity and justice used to all your subjects) am sure is not done but for some of their false and traitorous proceedings against your royal majesty; which revolving in my mind, with also the most abominable deeds done by two of my nieces¹ against your highness, hath brought me into the greatest perplexity that ever poor wretch was in, fearing that your majesty, having so often and by so many of my kin been thus falsely and traitorously handled, might not only conceive a displeasure in your heart against me and all other of my kin, but also abhor in manner to hear speak of any of the same. Wherefore, most gracious sovereign lord, prostrate at your feet most humbly I beseech your majesty to call to your remembrance that a great part of this matter has come to light by my declaration to your majesty, according to my bounden duty, of the words spoken to me by my mother-in-law when your highness sent me to Lambeth to search Derham's coffers, without the which I think she had not further been examined, nor consequently her ungracious children. Which my true proceedings towards your majesty being considered, and also the small love my two false traitorous nieces and my mother-in-law have borne unto me, doth put me in some hope that your highness will not conceive any displeasure in your most gentle heart against me, that God knoweth did never think thought which might be to your discontentation."²

This letter seems to throw some light on the hostility of the duke of Norfolk to the unfortunate queens, his nieces. They had evidently espoused the cause of the old duchess Agnes in the family feud, and her influence had probably been exerted, both with Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard, in crossing his political measures and lessening his credit at court.

The bill for the attainder of Katharine Howard, late queen of England, Jane lady Rochford, Agnes Howard duchess of Norfolk, Anne countess of Bridgewater, lord William Howard, Anne Howard, wife to the queen's brother Henry, and some others, was read for the first time January 21st.³ On the 28th the lord chancellor, feeling some mis-

¹ Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard.

² State-Papers, published by government, vol. i.

³ Journals of Parliament.

givings as to the legality of bringing the queen and so many noble ladies to the block without allowing the accused the opportunity of making the slightest defence, reminded the peers "How much it concerned them all not to proceed too hastily with the bill for attainder of the queen and others, which had been yet only read once among them;" bidding them remember, "that a queen was no mean or private person, but a public and illustrious one: therefore her cause ought to be judged in a manner that should leave no room for suspicion of some latent quarrel, and that she had not liberty to clear herself if, perchance, by reason or counsel she were able to do it." For this purpose he proposed "That a deputation, as well of the commons as of the lords, should go to the queen, partly to tell her the cause of their coming, and partly, in order to help her womanish fears, to advise her to have presence of mind sufficient to say anything to make her cause the better." He added, "that it was but just that a princess should be tried by equal laws with themselves, and expressed his assurance that it would be most acceptable to her most loving consort if the queen could clear herself in this way," and in the mean time the bill against her was ordered to be suspended.¹ This equitable proposition of the lord chancellor was disapproved and negatived by the privy council,² by whom it was determined that no opportunity, however limited, should be granted to Katharine of either speaking in her own defence, or impugning the testimony of the witnesses on whose unsifted assertions she was to be brought to the block. Whatever the conduct of the queen had been, she was in this instance the victim of the most unconstitutional despotism, and the presumption may be reasonably drawn, from the illegality and unfairness of the proceedings of the privy council, that the evidence against her could not have been substantiated, if investigated according to the common forms of justice.

On the 30th of January the lord chancellor declared "that the council, disliking the message that was to be sent to the

¹ Journals of Parliament, 34 Henry VIII. Parliamentary Hist. vol. iii. p. 178.

² Ibid.

queen, had thought of another way less objectionable ; which was, to petition the king that the parliament might have leave to proceed to give judgment and finish the queen's cause, that the event of that business might no longer be in doubt ; that his majesty would be pleased to pardon them, if by chance in speaking of the queen they might offend against the statutes then in existence ; that the attainder against Derham and Culpepper might be confirmed by authority of parliament ; and that his majesty would, out of regard to his own health, spare himself the pain of giving his assent in person to the bill of attainder, but allow it to pass by letters-patent under his great seal." ¹ The bill was, with brutal haste, hurried through both houses, February 6th. On the 10th, the queen was conveyed by water from her doleful prison at Sion to the Tower of London, under the charge of the duke of Suffolk, the lord privy-seal, and the lord great-chamberlain.² No record has been preserved of the manner in which Katharine Howard received the announcement that she must prepare for this ominous change. It is possible that, till that moment, the elastic spirits of youth, and a fond reliance on Cranmer's promise, had preserved

"The hope that keeps alive despair."

Those by whom she was guarded and attended on her last cold desolate voyage have been silent, as to her deportment ; and no page in history tells us whether Katharine Howard behaved with the proud firmness of a descendant of the Plantagenets, or betrayed the passionate grief and terror of a trembling woman when the portentous arch of the traitor's gate overshadowed her devoted head. From the length of the voyage and the season of the year, it is probable that darkness must have closed over the wintry waters of the Thames before the forlorn captive arrived at her destination, exhausted with fatigue and benumbed with cold. If this were the case, she was spared the horror of beholding the heads of her seducer Derham and her unfortunate cousin, Thomas Culpepper, over the bridge. One night of

¹ Journals of Parliament.

² Holinshed, first edition.

suspense was passed by Katharine in her new prison lodging before her fate was sealed. How that interval was spent is unrecorded.

Henry gave his assent by commission the following day, February 11th, to the bill of attainder against his once idolized consort. The same instrument included the names of Jane lady Rochford, Thomas Culpepper, and Francis Derham. The severed heads of those gentlemen had been, for the last two months, withering on London bridge; so to them the sentence was immaterial. Notwithstanding the deceitful assurances of the royal grace that had been held out to the aged duchess of Norfolk by Wriothesley, for the purpose of beguiling her, if possible, into becoming a witness against her grand-daughter, the queen, she was included in the act of attainder, for Henry was resolutely bent on taking her life. He maintained that the offence of breaking open Derham's coffers, and destroying the papers she took from thence, was sufficient evidence of the crime of high treason.¹ The judges, compliant as they were in most cases, had, in this instance, ventured to dissent from his majesty, as it was impossible to ascertain of what nature those papers were. Henry was irritated at the opinion of his law-officers, and said, "That there was as much reason to convict the duchess of Norfolk of treason as there had been to convict Derham. They cannot say," he observes, "that they have any learning, to maintain that they have a better ground to make Derham's case treason, and to suppose that his coming again to the queen's service was to an ill intent of the renovation of his former naughty life, than they have, in this case, to presume that the breaking open of the coffers was to the intent to conceal letters of treason."² Thus we learn, from the highest possible authority, that Derham suffered on presumptive evidence only; not that he *had* wronged the sovereign, but that he had conceived an intention of doing so. This was, in fact, the true state of the case with regard to Derham.

The king was not present when the lord chancellor produced the bill, with the royal seal and the king's sign-man-

¹ State-Papers, 700.

² Journals of Parliament. Parl. Hist. Lingard.

ual, in the house of lords, and desired the commons might attend. Previously, however, to the entrance of that body, the duke of Suffolk rose, and stated "That he and his fellow-deputies had been with the queen, and that she had openly confessed to them the great crime of which she had been guilty against the most high God and a kind prince, and, lastly, against the whole English nation; that she begged of them all to implore his majesty not to impute her crime to her whole kindred and family, but that his majesty would extend his unbounded mercy and benevolence to all her brothers, that they might not suffer for her faults; lastly, she besought his majesty, that it would please him to bestow some of her clothes on those maid-servants who had been with her from the time of her marriage, since she had now nothing else left to recompense them as they deserved."¹ The earl of Southampton rose and confirmed what the duke said, but added something which has been obliterated from the journals of that day's proceedings, which, it is conjectured, was done to prevent posterity from learning some fact connected with the fate of the Howard queen. When the commons entered, the assent of the king to the bill was given by commission, and the fatal sentence, "*le roi le veut*," was pronounced to the act which deprived a queen of England of her life without trial, and loaded her memory with obloquy of so dark a hue that no historian has ventured to raise the veil, even to inquire how far the charges are based on fact.

The persons who went with the duke of Suffolk to receive the confession of the queen, were those by whom she had been first accused to the king,—viz., Cranmer, Southampton, Audley, and Thirlby. "How much she confesseth to them," says Burnet, "is not very clear, neither by the journal nor the act of parliament, which only says she confessed." If she had confessed the crime of adultery, there can be no doubt that the act of attainder would have been based on her own admission, instead of a presumption that it was her intention to commit that crime. The confession, mentioned in general terms by Suffolk, was evidently her penitent ac-

¹ Journals of Parliament. Lingard.

knowledge of her incontinence before her marriage with the king. No one, indeed, appears ever to have felt deeper contrition for the offences of her youth than this unhappy queen. When she was informed that she must prepare for death, she addressed her confessor, Dr. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, in these words, which were afterwards delivered by him to a noble young lord of her name and near alliance:—"As to the act, my reverend lord, for which I stand condemned, God and his holy angels I take to witness, upon my soul's salvation, that I die guiltless, never having so abused my sovereign's bed. What other sins and follies of youth I have committed I will not excuse, but am assured that for them God hath brought this punishment upon me, and will, in his mercy, remit them, for which, I pray you, pray with me unto his Son and my Saviour, Christ."¹

Cranmer had humanely tried, by every means in his power, to induce Katharine to preserve her life by acknowledging a precontract with Francis Derham. But she repelled the idea with scorn; and, with the characteristic firmness of a Howard determined rather to go to the block as queen of England than to prolong her dishonored existence on the terms suggested. The church of Rome allowed no divorce except in cases of precontract; and, as Katharine would not admit that she was troth-plight to Francis Derham, there was no other mode of severing Henry's matrimonial engagement with her than by the axe of the executioner. The only person against whom she testified resentment was her uncle Norfolk, who, in a letter to the council, written when he, in his turn, lay under sentence of death in the Tower, thus expresses himself of her and Anne Boleyn:²—"What malice both my nieces that it pleased the king's highness to marry did bear unto me is not unknown to such ladies as kept them in *this house*,³ as my lady Herbert, my lady Tyrwitt, my lady Kingston, and

¹ Speed, 1030. Carte. Burnet.

² Letter of the duke of Norfolk, in Guthrie and Burnet.

³ Viz., the Tower of London, when they were under sentence there. By this it appears that the ladies named above remained at that time with queen Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard.

others, which heard what they said of me." In the same letter the duke shows sufficient cause for the indignation expressed by the unhappy Katharine against him for his unmanly conduct to the unfortunate ladies of his family in their distress, since he boasts that he was the principal witness against the poor old duchess, his father's widow, saying, "Who showed his majesty the words of my mother-in-law, for which she was attainted of misprision, but only I?"¹ Katharine, when she vented the natural feelings of contempt and bitterness against her cruel uncle, had every reason to believe that her aged grandmother would follow her to the block, as she then lay under sentence of death in the Tower: who can wonder that she regarded Norfolk with horror?

The interval allowed to the unqueened Katharine Howard between her condemnation and the execution of her sentence was brief. More time to prepare for the awful change from life to eternity would have been granted to the lowest criminal who should have been found guilty by the laws of his country, than was allotted to her who had shared the throne of the sovereign. The royal assent to her attainder was signified to her February 11th, and she was brought to the block on the morning of the 13th. But Katharine Howard, though still in the morning of life and the bloom of beauty, was already weaned from the world: she had proved the vanity of all its delusions and the deceitfulness of royal favor. "Familiarized as the people now were with the sight of blood," observes Tytler, "it was not without some feelings of national abasement that they beheld another queen ignominiously led to the scaffold," and that, we may add, to die, not according to the law, but in defiance of the laws of England, which have provided, for the security of human life, that no one shall be put to death without a fair and open trial. Frivolous as were the evidences on which Anne Boleyn was condemned, she was allowed the privilege of speaking for herself. Her wit, her acuteness and impassioned eloquence, if heard with callous indifference by her partial judges, have pleaded her cause

¹ Letter of Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, to the council: MS. Cotton.

to all posterity,—they plead for her still. Katharine Howard was led like a sheep to the slaughter, without being permitted to unclothe her lips in her own defence, save to her spiritual adviser, who was to receive her last confession. This prelate, be it remembered, was also the king's confessor, the same whom he had required upon All Saints' day to unite with him in thanking God for having blessed him with such a wife!

More sympathy would in all probability have been manifested for the young, the beautiful, and deeply penitent queen, if she had had any other companion on the scaffold than the infamous lady Rochford, whose conduct in regard to her accomplished husband and Anne Boleyn had rendered her an object of general execration. Katharine Howard submitted to the headsman's stroke with meekness and courage, and her more guilty companion imitated her humility and piety in the closing scene of their fearful tragedy. The particulars, as described in a contemporary letter from an eye-witness, are as follows:—

OTTWELL JOHNSON TO HIS BROTHER JOHN JOHNSON.

Merchant of the Staple at Calais.

"At London, 15 of Feb. 1541-2.

"From Calais I have heard as yet nothing of your suit to my lord Gray; and for news from hence, I saw the queen and the lady Rochford suffer within the Tower the day following my letter on Snnday evening, whose souls (I doubt not) be with God. For they made the most godly and Christian end that ever was heard tell of (I think) since the world's creation, uttering their lively faith in the blood of Christ only, and with godly words and steadfast countenances they desired all Christian people to take regard unto their worthy and just punishment of death, for their offences against God heinously from their youth upward, and also against the king's royal majesty very dangerously; wherefore they, being justly condemned (as they said) by the laws of the realm and parliament, required the people (I say) to take example at them for amendment of ungodly lives, and to gladly obey the king in all things,—for whose preservation they did heartily pray, and willed all people so to do, commending their souls to God, and earnestly calling upon him for mercy: whom I beseech to give us such grace, with faith, hope, and charity, at our departing out of this miserable world, to come to the fruition of his Godhead in joy everlasting. Amen.

"Your loving brother,

"OTTWELL JOHNSON.

"With my hearty commendations unto Mr. Cave and Mrs. Cave, not for-

getting my sister, your wife, I pray you to let them be made partakers of this last news, for surely it is well worth the knowledge.”¹

That doubts were entertained of the guilt of this unhappy queen, from the misgivings of the lord chancellor after the first reading of the bill for her attainder, may also be inferred from the following contemporary notice among the Lambeth MSS. “This day, February 13th, was executed queen Katharine for many shocking misdemeanors, though some do suppose her to be innocent.”² The last words of lady Rochford were, “That she supposed God had permitted her to suffer this shameful doom, as a punishment for having contributed to her husband’s death by her false accusation of queen Anne Boleyn, but she was guilty of no other crime.”³ This declaration was made on the scaffold, probably after she had seen the head of her royal mistress severed by the axe of the executioner. If urged by conscience at that dreadful moment to acknowledge the guilt of perjury and murder, she would scarcely have marred her dying confession by falsely protesting her innocence of the more venial offences for which she had been sentenced to die with the queen. The scaffold on which Katharine Howard and lady Rochford suffered was the same on which Anne Boleyn, the marquess of Exeter, and the venerable countess of Salisbury had been previously executed. It was erected within the Tower, on the space before the church of St. Peter-ad-Vincula. It has been long since removed; but its site may still be traced by the indelible stains on the flints, which faintly map out the dimensions of the fatal spot where so much royal and noble blood was spilt by the headsman’s axe during the Tudor reigns of terror.⁴

Thus died in the flower of her age, and in the eighteenth month of her marriage, queen Katharine Howard, the fifth

¹ From the original in her majesty’s Record-office in the Tower. It was probably intercepted, else a private letter would scarcely be preserved in the national records. ² No. 306, dated February. ³ Leti.

⁴ Christina, duchess-dowager of Milan, to whom the royal Bluebeard offered his hand, declined the honor with this cutting remark,—that “If she had had two heads, one should have been at his service.”

wife of Henry VIII., and the second queen whom he had sent to the block, after repudiating a lawful wife to obtain her hand. In both instances it might be said,—

“The beauteous toy, so fiercely sought,
Had lost its charms by being caught.”

Henry's motives for marrying Katharine Howard are explained in a letter from the privy council to Mr. Paget, his ambassador in France, in the following words:—“It pleased his highness, upon a notable appearance of honor, cleanness, and maidenly behavior, to bend his affection towards Mrs. Katharine Howard, daughter to the lord Edmund Howard (brother to *me* the duke of Norfolk); insomuch that his highness was finally contented to honor her with his marriage, thinking now in his old age, after sundry troubles of mind which have happened unto him by marriages, to have obtained such a perfect jewel of womanhood and very perfect love to him, as should have not only been to his quietness, but also brought forth the desired fruit of marriage, like as the whole realm thought semblable, and did her all honor accordingly.”¹ In the act of settlement of the succession, the imaginary children, which Henry expected his fair young consort to bring him, were given the preference to his disinherited daughters by his two first queens. Katharine Howard, like her cousin Anne Boleyn, probably fared the worse for not having fulfilled the royal tyrant's wish of male offspring. “Give me children, or you die,” appears to have been the fearful alternative offered by Henry to his queens. He had assumed the title of king of Ireland a few days before the execution of his fifth consort. Katharine Howard therefore died the first queen of England and Ireland.

The mangled form of Katharine Howard was borne from the bloody scaffold to a dishonored grave with indecent haste, and with no more regard to funereal obsequies than had been vouchsafed to her equally unfortunate cousin, the murdered Anne Boleyn, near whose ostensible place of burial her remains were interred. Weever gives the following

¹ Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.

record of her grave :—" In St. Peter's chapel of the Tower, very near the relics of Anne Boleyn, lieth interred the body of Katharine, the fifth wife of Henry VIII., the daughter of Edmund and niece to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk. It is verily believed, and many strong reasons are given both by English and foreign writers, that neither this qucen Katharine nor queen Anne were any way guilty of the breach of matrimony whereof they were accused."—" If all the patterns of a merciless tyrant had been lost to the world," says sir Walter Raleigh, when speaking of Henry VIII., "they might have been found in this prince." Henry VIII. was the first king of England who brought ladies to the block, and who caused the tender female form to be distorted with tortures and committed a living prey to the flames. He was the only king who sought consolation for the imagined offences of his wives against his honor by plundering their relatives of their plate and money.¹ Shame, not humanity, prevented him from staining the scaffold with the blood of the aged duchess of Norfolk; he released her after long imprisonment.²

Nikander Nucius, a Greek attaché of the imperial ambassador at the court of Henry VIII. in the year 1546, tells us that Katharine Howard, whom he places as the fourth, instead of the fifth, in his catalogue of Henry's wives, "was esteemed the most beautiful woman of her time." He records her tragic fate, but has so little idea of the real state of the facts that he says, "She had fallen in love with a

¹ Henry's next victim of the Howard blood was the most accomplished nobleman in his dominions, "Surrey of the deathless lay," who was cousin-german to the two murdered queens, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard. He was brought to the scaffold on the most frivolous pretext. Warton, the poet, thinks that the fair Geraldine, whose name is immortalized in Surrey's graceful verse, was maid of honor to queen Katharine Howard. The king had signed the death-warrant of Katharine's uncle, the duke of Norfolk; but the timely death of the tyrant preserved the hoary head of that old and faithful servant, who had spent a long life in his service, from being pillowed for its last repose on the block.

² In the possession of his grace the duke of Norfolk there is a pardon under the privy-seal, granted to Agnes duchess of Norfolk, for all treasons committed before the 14th day of February in the thirty-third year of his reign. The pardon is dated at Westminster, 5th of May, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign.

noble youth of the court, and the king himself detected their guilt, and commanded their heads to be cut off with those who were the accessaries to their passion. And the heads, except that of the queen, he caused to be elevated on spears, and fixed on one of the turrets of the bridge; and the skulls are even at this time to be seen, denuded of flesh." A strange confusion of truth and falsehood pervades this statement, but it is curious, because from the pen of a contemporary, and denoting the precise spot occupied by the heads of Culpepper and Derham. These Nikander had himself seen. His ignorance of the English language caused him to make a few mistakes in the history attached to these ghastly relics of the royal matrimonial tragedy which occurred in 1541-42.¹

George Cavendish introduces the sorrowful shade of the unfortunate Howard queen among his metrical visions. A few lines may bear quotation. As written by her contemporary they are very curious:—

"Thus as I sat (the tears within my eyen),
Of her the wreck whiles I did debate,
Before my face me-thought I saw this queen,
No whit as I her left, God wot, of late,
But all be-wept, in black, and poor estate,
Which prayed me that I would ne forget
The fall of her within my book to set."

Notwithstanding the rudeness of the measure, there is something very pathetic in the piteous imagery of the fallen queen, "all be-wept, in black, and poor estate," petitioning for her place in the melancholy train of contemporary victims, of which the shadowy *dramatis personæ* of George Cavendish's book is made up. She is not much beholden to his report after all, for he violates history by making her confess that which she denied before God and his holy angels,—namely, violation of her marriage vows.

¹ The *Travels of Nikander Nucijs*, translated from the original Greek, in the Bodleian Library, by the Rev. J. Fidler, and edited by Dr. Cranmer, is the last publication of the Camden Society. It is a great literary curiosity, but the account with which the Greek attaché favors his friends and countrymen of the history, religion, manners, and customs of England in the reign of Henry VIII. strongly reminds us of that which Hajji Baba boasts of having compounded for the information of the schah of Persia.

Henry VIII

After the Painting by Holbein now in Windsor Castle

“Who can look without disgust at the face which Hans Holbein’s faithful brush has transmitted to us?—the small pig’s-eyes, the drooping, flabby, greasy cheeks—these would have revealed the man, had history been mute,—the man destitute alike of principles and affections, who never experienced an emotion of love, of pity, of gratitude, or of remorse.”

Copyright 1902 by G. Barrie & Son



Cavendish speaks of her as very young, and extols her great beauty, which he makes her lament as the occasion of her fall:—

“To be a queen Fortune did me prefer,
 Flourishing in youth with beauty fresh and pure,
 Whom Nature made shine equal with the *steere* [stars],
 And to reign in felicity with joy and pleasure,
 Wanting no thing that love might me procure,
 So much beloved, far, far beyond the rest,
 With my sovereign lord, who lodged me in his nest.”

Our poet makes the young queen bewail her loss of the royal obsequies, and that no one would wear mourning for her, in the following quaint lines:—

“Now I know well,” quod she, “among my friends all
 That here I left the day of my decay,
 That I shall get no pompous funeral,
 Nor of my black no man the charge shall pay;
 Save that some one, perchance, may hap to say,
 ‘Such one there was, alas! and that was *ruth* [pity],
 That she herself distained with such untruth.’”

Culpepper is also compelled by our poet to make a ghostly confession of a crime there is no evidence to believe he ever committed, and which he denied on the rack and on the scaffold. It is, however, to be observed, that Cavendish makes all Henry’s victims suffer justly, except the countess of Salisbury, though the view he has taken of both Katharine Howard and her predecessor Anne Boleyn is afterwards contradicted very fully, by the admission he describes Henry as making in the midst of his death-bed remorse:—

“After I forsook my first most lawful wife,
 And took another my pleasure to fulfil,
 I changed often, so inconstant was my life,
 Death was the meed of some that did none ill,
 Which only was to satisfy my will.”

It was in consequence of the discovery of Katharine Howard’s early misconduct, that the memorable act of parliament was passed making it high treason for any person to know of a flaw in the character of any lady whom the king might propose to marry without revealing it; and also subjecting the lady to the penalty of death if she presumed to deceive her sovereign on that point.

KATHARINE PARR,

SIXTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

Katharine Parr the first Protestant queen of England—Her royal descent—Relationship to Henry VIII.—Her birth at Kendal castle—Death of her father—Prudent conduct of lady Parr—Katharine's learned education—Her royal destiny predicted—Her dislike of needlework—Sought in marriage for the heir of lord Scrope—Her mother's letters—Katharine weds lord Borough—His family—Katharine a widow at fifteen—Her residence at Sizergh castle with lady Strickland—The queen's chamber at Sizergh—Katharine Parr's embroidery—She marries lord Latimer—Her rich dower—Her influence with the king—Cromwell's disgrace attributable to Katharine Parr—Death of lord Latimer—Katharine embraces the reformed faith—Religious assemblies at her house—Courtied by sir Thomas Seymour—Her attachment—Compelled to relinquish him for the king—Her reluctance to the royal marriage—She is married to the king at Hampton Court—Her attentions to her royal stepchildren—Presents to the princess Mary—Her friendship with Mary—Attachment of prince Edward—His letters—Henry's regard for Katharine Parr—She is appointed queen-regent—Her government in king Henry's absence—Return of the king—Painting of the royal family-group at Hampton Court.

KATHARINE PARR was the first Protestant queen of England. She was the only one among the consorts of Henry VIII. who, in the sincerity of an honest heart, embraced the doctrine of the Reformation, and imperilled her crown and life in support of her principles. The name of Katharine, which, from its Greek derivation *Katharos*, signifies 'pure as a limpid stream,' seems peculiarly suited to the characteristics of this illustrious lady, in whom we behold the protectress of Coverdale, the friend of Anne Askew,—the learned and virtuous matron who directed the studies of lady Jane Gray, Edward VI., and queen Elizabeth, and who may, with truth, be called the nursing-mother of the Reformation.

Katharine Parr was not only queen of England, but an

English queen. Although of ancient and even royal descent, she claimed, by birth, no other rank than that of a private gentlewoman. Like Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, Katharine Parr was only the daughter of a knight; but her father, sir Thomas Parr, was of a more distinguished ancestry than either sir Thomas Boleyn or sir John Seymour. From the marriage of his Norman progenitor, Ivo de Tallebois, with Lucy, the sister of the renowned earls Morcar and Edwin, sir Thomas Parr inherited the blood of the Anglo-Saxon kings. Ivo de Tallebois was the first baron of Kendal, and maintained the state of a petty sovereign in the north. The male line failing with William de Lancaster, the seventh in descent, the honor and estates of that mighty family passed to his sisters Helwise and Alice. Margaret, the elder co-heiress of Helwise by Peter le Brus, married the younger son of Robert lord Roos, of Hamlake and Werks, by Isabel, daughter of Alexander II. king of Scotland. Their grandson, sir Thomas de Roos, married Katherine, the daughter of sir Thomas Strickland, of Sizergh castle, Westmoreland. The fruit of this union was an only daughter, Elizabeth, who brought Kendal castle and a rich inheritance into queen Katharine's paternal house, by her marriage with sir William de Parr, knight. Sir William Parr, the grandson of this pair, was made knight of the Garter, and married Elizabeth, one of the co-heiresses of the lord Fitzhugh, by Alice, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, and Joanna Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Alice Neville was sister to the king's great-grandmother, Cicely Neville, duchess of York; and, through this connection, Katharine Parr was fourth cousin to Henry VIII.¹

From the elder co-heiress of Fitzhugh, the patrimony of the Marmions, the ancient champions of England, was transmitted to sir Thomas Parr, father of queen Katharine. Her mother, Matilda, or, as she was commonly called, Maud Green, was daughter and co-heiress of sir Thomas Green, of Boughton and Green's Norton in the county of Northamptonshire. This lady was a descendant of the distin-

¹ Dugdale.

guished families of Talbot and Throckmorton. Her sister Anne wedded sir Nicholas Vaux, afterwards created lord Vaux of Harrowden; and, dying childless, the whole of the rich inheritance of the Greens of Boughton centred in Matilda.¹ At the age of thirteen Matilda became the wife of sir Thomas Parr. This marriage took place in the year 1508. The date generally assigned for the birth of Katharine Parr is 1510; but the correspondence between her mother and lord Dacre, in the fifteenth year of Henry VIII., in which her age is specified to be *under* twelve,² will prove that she could not have been born till 1513. Her father, sir Thomas Parr, at that time held high offices at court, being master of the wards and comptroller of the household to Henry VIII. As a token of royal favor, we find that the king presented him with a rich gold chain, value 140*l.*—a very large sum in those days.³ Both sir Thomas and his lady were frequent residents in the court; but the child who was destined hereafter to share the throne of their royal master first saw the light at Kendal castle, in Westmoreland, the time-honored fortress which had been the hereditary seat of her ancestors from the days of its Norman founder, Ivo de Tallebois.

A crumbling relic of this stronghold of feudal greatness is still in existence, rising like a gray crown over the green hills of Kendal. It is situated on a lofty eminence, which commands a panoramic view of the town and the picturesque and ever-verdant vale of the Kent, that clear and rapid stream which, night and day, sings an unwearied song as it rushes over its rocky bed at the foot of the castle-hill. The circular tower of the castle is the most considerable portion of the ruins, but there is a large enclosure of ivy-mantled walls remaining, with a few broken arches. These are now crowned with wild flowers, whose peaceful blossoms wave unnoted where the red-cross banner of St. George once flaunted on tower and parapet of the sternly-guarded fortress, that for centuries was regarded as the

¹ Baker's Northamptonshire, corrected from Dugdale.

² Hopkinson's MSS. Whittaker's Richmondshire.

³ See sir Thomas Parr's will, in *Testamenta Vetusta*.

most important defence of the town of Kendal and the adjacent country.

The warlike progenitors of Katharine had stern duties to perform at the period when the kings of Scotland held Cumberland of the English crown, and were perpetually harassing the northern counties with predatory expeditions. Before the auspicious era when the realms of England and Scotland were united under one sovereign, the lord of Kendal castle and his feudal neighbor of Sizergh were compelled to furnish a numerous quota of men-at-arms for the service of the crown and the protection of the border. The contingent consisted of horse and foot, and, above all, of those bowmen so renowned in border history and song, the Kendal archers. They are thus noted by the metrical chronicler of the battle of Flodden :—

“These are the bows of Kentdale bold,
Who fierce will fight and never flee.”

Dame Maud Parr evinced a courageous disposition in venturing to choose Kendal castle for the place of her accouchement, at a time when the northern counties were menaced with an invasion from the puissance and flower of Scotland, headed by their king in person. Sir Thomas Parr was, however, obliged to be on duty there with his warlike *meiné*, in readiness either to attend the summons of the lord warden of the marches, or to hold the fortress for the defence of the town and neighborhood ; and his lady, instead of remaining in the metropolis, or seeking a safer abiding-place at Green's Norton, her own patrimonial domain, decided on sharing her husband's perils in the north, and there gave birth to Katharine. They had two other children, William, their son and heir, afterwards created earl of Essex and marquess of Northampton, and Anne, the wife of William Herbert, the natural son of the earl of Pembroke, to which dignity he was himself raised by Edward VI. Sir Thomas Parr died in the year 1517, leaving his three infant children to the guardianship of his faithful widow, who is said to have been a lady of great prudence and wisdom, with a discreet care for the main chance.

The will of sir Thomas Parr is dated November 7th, the 9th of Henry VIII. He bequeathed his body to be interred in Blackfriars' church, London. All his manors, lands, and tenements he gave to his wife, dame Maud, during her life. He willed his daughters, Katharine and Anne, to have eight hundred pounds between them, as marriage-portions, except they proved to be his heirs or his son's heirs; in which case that sum was to be laid out in copes and vestments, and given to the monks of Clairveaux, with a hundred pounds to the chantry of Kendal. He willed his son William "to have his great chain, worth one hundred and forty pounds, which the king's grace gave him." He made Maud, his wife, and Dr. Tunstall, master of the rolls, his executors. Four hundred pounds, Katharine's moiety of the sum provided by her father for the nuptial portions of herself and her sister, would be scarcely equal to two thousand pounds in these days, and seems but an inadequate dowry for the daughters of parents so richly endowed with the gifts of fortune as sir Thomas and lady Parr. It was, however, all that was accorded to her who was hereafter to contract matrimony with the sovereign of the realm. Sir Thomas Parr died in London on the 11th of November, four days after the date of his will, in the parish of the Blackfriars, and was probably interred in that church, according to his own request; yet, as lately as the year 1628, there is record of a tomb, bearing his effigies, name, and arms, in the chapel or family burying-place of the Parrs,¹ in the south choir of Kendal church.

¹ This monument is thus described in Dr. Whittaker's History of Richmondshire:—"On a tomb a man in armor, kneeling, on his breast two bars, argent, within a bordure, sable, for Parr; on his wife's breast, quartering Green and Mapleloft, and about it was written, 'Pray for the soul of Thomas Parr, knight, squire of the king's body, Henry 8th, master of his wards, who deceased the 11th day of Nov., in the 9th year of our said sovereign lord, at London, . . . in the . . . Fryers, as his tomb doth record.' In the window over this tomb was emblazoned the arms of Katharine's ancestor, sir William Parr, who married the heiress of Roos. The large black marble tomb still remaining in the Parr chapel is supposed to cover the remains of her grandfather, sir William Parr, K.G., for it bears the paternal shield of Parr, quartered with Roos, Brus, and Fitzhugh, encircled with the garter. The ladies whose arms are engraven on this monument were all heiresses; therefore the property accumulated by these marriages in the family of Parr must have been considerable."

It has generally been said that Katharine Parr received a learned education from her father; but, as she was only in her fifth year when he died, it must have been to the maternal wisdom of lady Parr that she was indebted for those mental acquirements which so eminently fitted her to adorn the exalted station to which she was afterwards raised. Katharine was gifted by nature with fine talents, and these were improved by the advantages of careful cultivation. She both read and wrote Latin with facility, possessed some knowledge of Greek, and was well versed in modern languages. How perfect a mistress she was of her own, the elegance and beauty of her devotional writings are a standing monument. "I have met with a passage concerning this queen," says Strype, "in the margin of Bale's Centuries, in possession of a late friend of mine, Dr. Sampson, which showed the greatness of her mind and the quickness of her wit while she was yet a young child. Somebody skilled in prognostication, casting her nativity, said that she was born to sit in the highest seat of imperial majesty, having all the eminent stars and planets in her house. This she heard and took such notice of, that when her mother used sometimes to call her to work, she would reply, 'My hands are ordained to touch crowns and sceptres, and not spindles and needles.'"¹

This striking incident affords one among many instances in which the prediction of a brilliant destiny has insured its own fulfilment, by its powerful influence on an energetic mind. It is also an exemplification at how precocious an age the germ of ambition may take root in the human heart. But, however disposed the little Katharine might have been to dispense with the performance of her tasks, under the idea of queening it hereafter, lady Parr was too wise a parent to allow vain dreams of royalty to unfit her child for the duties of the station of life in which she was born; and, notwithstanding Katharine's early repugnance to touch a needle, her skill and industry in its use became so remarkable that there are specimens of her embroidery at Sizergh castle which could hardly have been surpassed by

¹ Strype's Mems., vol. ii. part 1, p. 206.

the far-famed stitcheries of the sisters of king Athelstan. The friend and companion of Katharine's childhood and early youth was her young kinswoman Elizabeth Bellingham, daughter and co-heiress of sir Robert Bellingham, of Burneside, a beautiful village near Kendal. This young lady, who was nearly related to Katharine, both through the Parrs and Stricklands, was brought up at Kendal castle under the maternal auspices of dame Maud Parr, and shared the studies of the future queen of England, who formed so tender a regard for her, that when the wild dreams of childhood touching her royal destiny were strangely realized, one of her first exercises of queenly influence was to send for her cousin Elizabeth Bellingham to court, and bestow an appointment in her royal household upon her.¹

Though dame Maud Parr had scarcely completed her twenty-second year at the time of her husband's death, she never entered into a second marriage, but devoted herself entirely to the superintendence of her children's education. In the year 1524 she entered into a negotiation with her kinsman, lord Dacre, for a marriage between his grandson, the heir of lord Scrope, and her daughter Katharine, of which the particulars may be learned from some very curious letters preserved among the Scrope MSS.² The first is from dame Maud Parr to lord Dacre, and refers to a personal conference she had had with his lordship at Greenwich on the subject of this alliance:—

"MOST HONORABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD:—

"I heartily commend me to you. Whereas it pleased you at your last being here to take pains in the matter in consideration of marriage between the lord Scroop's son and my daughter Katharine, for the which I heartily thank you, at which time I thought the matter in good furtherance. Howbeit, I perceive that my lord Scroop is not agreeable to that consideration. The jointure is little for 1100 marks, which I will not pass, and my said lord will not repay after marriage had; and 200 marks must needs be repaid if my daughter Katharine dies before the age of sixteen, or else I should break master Parr's will [meaning the will of her husband sir Thomas], which I should be loath to do; and there can be no marriage until my lord's son [lord Scroop] comes to the age

¹ Burns's Westmoreland and Cumberland, vol. iv. p. 366.

² Quoted in Whittaker's History of Richmondshire.

of thirteen, and my daughter to the age of twelve, before which time, if the marriage should take none effect, or be dissolved either by death, wardship, disagreement, or otherwise, which may be before that time notwithstanding marriage solemnized, repayment must needs be had of the whole, or else I might fortune to pay my money for nothing. The conversation I had with you at Greenwich was, that I was to pay at desire 1100 marks, 100 on hand—and 100 every year, which is as much as I can spare, as you know; and for that my daughter Katharine is to have 100 marks jointure, whereof I am to have 50 marks for her finding till they live together, and then they are to have the whole 100 marks, and repayment to be had if the marriage took not effect. My lord, it might please you to take so much pain as to help to conclude this matter, if it will be; and if you see any defect on my part, it shall be ordered as ye deem good, as knoweth Jesu, who preserve your good lordship.

“Your cousin,

“Written at the Rye, the 13 day of July.

MAUD PARR.”

Lord Scrope, of Bolton castle, did not choose to submit to the refunding part of the clause, and was unwilling to allow more than forty marks per annum for the board or *finding* of the young lady till the heir of Scrope came to the age of eighteen. Lord Dacre, after some inconsequential letters between him and dame Maud, proves his sincerity in the promotion of the wedlock by the following pithy arguments, contained in an epistle to lord Scrope, his son-in-law :—

“MY LORD :—

“Your son and heir is the greatest jewel that ye can have, seeing he must represent your own person after your death, unto whom I pray God grant many long years. And if ye be disposed to marry him, I cannot see, without you marry him to an heir of land (which would be right costly¹), that ye can marry him to so good a stock as my lady Parr, for divers considerations : first, in remembering the wisdom of my said lady, and the good, wise stock of the Greens, whereof she is coming, and also of the wise stock of the Parrs of Kendale, for all wise men do look, when they do marry their child, to the wisdom of the blood they do marry with. I speak not of the possibility of the lady Parr’s daughter Katharine, who has but one child² between her and 800 marks yearly to inherit thereof.

“My lord, the demands you have and my lady’s demands are so far asunder, that it is impossible ye can ever agree. I think it is not convenient nor profitable that so large a sum as 100 marks should go yearly out of your land to so young a person as my lady’s eldest daughter Katharine, if it fortune, as God defend, that your said son and mine die. Also, I think it good (but I would not have it comprised in the covenant) that, during the time of three years that

¹ For the consent of parents or guardians had to be bought.

² Her brother, afterwards marquess of Northampton. In fact, the youngest sister, Anne Parr, inherited the Parr estate.

he should be with my said lady Parr, if she keep her widowhood, and ye to find him clothing and a servant to wait upon him, and she to find him meat and drink; for I assure you he might learn with her as well as in any place—that I know, as well nurture, as French and other languages, which *me seems* were a commodious thing for him.

“At Morpeth, 17 day of December, 15 year Henry 8th.”

These letters certify us that Katharine Parr was under twelve years of age in the year 1524; she could not, therefore, have been born *before* 1513. We also learn that lord Dacre was anxious that his youthful grandson should participate in the advantages of the liberal education lady Parr was bestowing on her children, and that he placed due importance on the fact that the lady came of a family celebrated for sound sense and good conduct, a point little regarded now in the marriages of the heirs of an illustrious line. Lady Parr and all her lineage had a great reputation for wisdom, it seems; but the wisdom of this world formed so prominent a feature in the matrimonial bargain which the sagacious widow and the wary lord Scrope were attempting to drive in behalf of their children that the affair came to nothing.

Lord Dacre tells lady Parr “that lord Scrope must needs have money, and he has nothing whereof to make it but the marriage of his said son;”¹ and dame Maud, in a letter from the court of Greenwich, dated the 15th of the following March, laments to my lord Dacre that the custom of her country and the advice of her friends will not permit her to submit to lord Scrope’s way of driving a bargain. Lord Dacre, who seems some degrees less acquisitive than Scrope and the lady Parr, replies:—

“MADAME:—

“For my part, I am sorry that ye be thus converted in this matter, seeing the labor I have had in it, which was most for the strength of my friendship for my cousin Katharine, your daughter, assuring you that ye shall not marry Katharine in any place that be so good and comfortable to my said cousin your

¹ One of the very worst abuses of feudality was the sale of the marriages of wards by their guardians in their childhood. To such a pitch of corruption had this custom arrived, that fathers and mothers bought and sold their consents for the marriages of their infants, if such children were heirs to any kind of property.

daughter. And concerning my lord Scroop's demands, he *demandit* nothing but that ye were content to give, which was 1100 marks. And concerning his offer, which was 100 marks jointure, it is not far from the custom of the country; for, from the highest to the lowest, it is the custom to give for every 100 marks of dower ten marks jointure.

"But finally, madame, seeing ye are thus minded (whereat I am sorry, as nature constraineth me to be), as it doth please you in this business, so it shall please me. And thus heartily fare ye well.

"At Morpeth, 25th day of May, 16 anno."

Thus ended the abortive matrimonial treaty for the union of Katharine Parr and the heir of Scrope, who was her kinsman by the maternal connection of both with the great northern family of Dacre. Katharine must have been still of very tender age when she was given in marriage to her first husband, Edward lord Borough of Gainsborough,¹ a mature widower, with children who had arrived at man's estate. Henry, the second of these sons, after his father's marriage with Katharine Parr, espoused her friend and kinswoman, Katharine Neville, the widow of sir Walter Strickland of Sizergh;² and this lady, though only twenty-nine at the time of their union, was fourteen years older than her husband's step-mother. The principal family seat

¹ This nobleman was the second peer of the family of Borough, anciently written De Burgh. He was of the same lineage as the famous Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent and justiciary of England, the favorite of Henry III. His father, sir Thomas Borough, was made knight of the Garter at the coronation of Henry VII. He was afterwards called to the peerage by the title of lord Borough of Gainsborough; and Edward, the husband of Katharine, succeeded his father in the year 1495-96. He had married Anne, the daughter and heiress of sir Thomas Cobham, of Sterborough, Kent, by whom he had a family before he succeeded to his father's honors, for his eldest son is mentioned in the first lord Borough's will. That son was probably as old as the mother of Katharine Parr. By his mother, Alianor, the daughter of lord Roos of Hamlake, by his marriage with the daughter of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, he was distantly related to the family of Parr; and, by the second marriage of his grandmother, Alice Beauchamp, with Edmund Beaufort, afterwards duke of Somerset, he was allied to the royal family.

² Katharine Neville was the co-heiress of sir Ralph Neville, of Thornton Briggs in Yorkshire. She married sir Walter Strickland, who died 19th year of Henry VIII., January, 1527; and lady Strickland married, the year after, 1528, Henry Borough, entailing her inheritance of Thornton Briggs on her only son, Walter Strickland. She afterwards married William Knyvet. She was twenty-two years old in 1521, when Katharine Parr was about eight.—Plumpton Papers, 260. Strickland Family Papers, third folio, Sizergh castle.

of Katharine's first husband was his manor-house of Gainsborough, situated about seventeen miles from Lincoln, and here, no doubt, he resided with his young bride. His father had expended considerable sums in enlarging and improving this mansion, which was sold a century afterwards, by one of his descendants, to a wealthy London citizen. Lord Borough had a fine mansion at Catterick in Yorkshire, and probably at Newark likewise, where his arms, impaled with those of his first wife, Alice Cobham, were painted on a window which his father presented to the parish church.

In Gainsborough church, on the tomb of the first lord Borough, father to Katharine Parr's husband, the arms of Borough were quartered with Tallebois, Marmion, and Fitzhugh,¹ which afford sufficient proof of the ancestral connection of this nobleman with the Parrs: he appears to have been related to Katharine somewhere about the fourth degree. He died in 1528-29;² Katharine, therefore, could not have exceeded her fifteenth year at the period of her first widowhood. She had no children by lord Borough. Soon after the death of her husband, Katharine was bereaved of her last surviving parent. From a passage in the will of lady Parr, it appears as if that lady had sacrificed the interests of her daughter in order to purchase a marriage with a kinswoman of the sovereign for her son, sir William Parr. This strange document, which is utterly devoid of perspicuity and common sense, commences thus:—

“ Dame Maud Parr, widow, late wife of sir Thomas Parr, deceased 20th of May, 21st Henry VIII., 1529. My body to be buried in the church of the Blackfriars, London. Whereas, I have indebted myself for the preferment of my son and heir, William Parr, as well to the king for the marriage of my said son, as to my lord of Essex for the marriage of my lady Bouchier, daughter and heir-apparent to the said earl, Anne, my daughter, sir William Parr, Knt., my brother, Katharine Borough, my daughter, Thomas Pickering, Esq., my cousin, and steward of my house.”³

Great difficulties were probably encountered by the executors of lady Parr's will, as it was not proved till December 14, 1531, more than two years after her death. From

¹ Haile's MSS., British Museum.

² His son and heir, Thomas third lord Borough, received summons to attend parliament 3d November, 21 Henry VIII.

³ Testamenta Vetusta.

the latter involved sentence we infer that lady Parr had persuaded her daughter to join her in the security for the large sums which she had engaged to give to the king and the earl of Essex, to obtain leave for her son to espouse the daughter of the latter. Like many of the marriages based on parental pride and avarice, this union of Katharine's brother with the heiress of the royally descended and wealthy house of Bouchier proved a source of guilt and misery to both parties. The young lady Parr was the sole descendant of Isabel Plantagenet, sister to the king's great-grandfather, Richard duke of York.

This alliance increased the previous family connection of the Parrs with the sovereign's lineage, on the female side. Some degree of friendly intercourse appears to have been kept up between the king and his cousin, the young lady Parr; and we observe that, in the year 1530, she sent him a present of a coat of Kendal cloth.¹ Both the brother and the uncle of Katharine were now attached to the royal household; but there is reason to suppose that Katharine became an inmate of Sizergh castle about this period. She was a lovely, noble, and wealthy widow, in her sixteenth year, when deprived of the protection of her last surviving parent. Her only near female relations were an unmarried sister younger than herself, and her aunt, lady Throckmorton, who resided in a distant county. As heiress-presumptive to her brother William, it was desirable to remain in the vicinity of Kendal castle, and the family estates in that neighborhood; therefore the most prudent and natural thing she could do was to take up her abode with her kinswoman and friend, lady Strickland. That lady, though she had, by her marriage with Katharine's step-son Henry Borough, become her daughter-in-law, was quite old enough to afford matronly countenance to the youthful widow of lord Borough, whom, according to the quaint custom of the time, she called "her good mother." Katharine Parr and lady Strickland were alike descended from the Nevilles of Raby, and sir Walter Strickland, the deceased husband of the latter, was also a relative of the Parrs; and as lady Strick-

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII.

land held of the crown the wardship of her son, young Walter Strickland's person and estates, she remained mistress of Sizergh castle, even after her marriage with Henry Borough.¹

At no other period of her life than the interval between her mother's death and her own marriage with Neville lord Latimer could Katharine Parr have found leisure to embroider the magnificent counterpane and toilette cover, which are proudly exhibited at Sizergh castle as trophies of her industry, having been worked by her own hands during a visit to her kinsfolk there. As the ornamental labors of the needle have become once more a source of domestic recreation to the ladies of England, and even the lords of creation appear to derive some pleasure, as lookers on, in tracing the progress of their fair friends at the embroidering-frame, a brief description of these beautiful and well-preserved specimens of Katharine Parr's proficiency in that accomplishment may not be displeasing.

The material on which both counterpane and toilette-cover are worked is the richest white satin, of a fabric with which the production of no modern loom can vie. The centre of the pattern is a medallion, surrounded with a wreath of natural flowers, wrought in twisted silks and bullion. A spread eagle, in bold relief, gorged with the imperial crown, forms the middle. At each corner is a lively heraldic monster of the dragon class, glowing with purple, crimson, and gold. The field is gayly beset with large flowers in gorgeous colors, highly embossed and enriched with threads of gold. The toilette is *en suite*, but of a smaller pattern. The lapse of three centuries has scarcely diminished the brilliancy of the colors, or tarnished the bullion; nor is the purity of the satin sullied, though both these queenly relics have been used on state occasions, by the family in whose possession they have remained as precious heirlooms and memorials of their ancestral connection with queen Katharine Parr. The apartment which Katharine occupied in Sizergh castle is still called 'the queen's room.' It is a fine state chamber, in that ancient portion of the

¹ Strickland Papers at Sizergh castle, folio 3.

castle the D'Eyncourt tower. It opens through the drawing-room, and is panelled with richly-carved black-oak, which is covered with tapestry of great beauty. The designs represent hunting in all its gradations, from a fox-chase up to a lion-hunt; varied with delineations of trees and flowers, and surrounded with a very unique border, in which young tigers are fighting and brandishing their claws at each other, in the manner of enraged kittens. The most splendid patterns for modern needlework might be taken from these spirited devices. Over the lofty carved chimney-piece are the arms of England and France, supported between the lion and the Tudor dragon, with the motto *VIVAT REGINA*. The date, 1569, proves they were put up some years after the death of Katharine Parr, though doubtless intended to commemorate the fact that this apartment was once honored by her use.¹ The bed, with its hangings of costly crimson damask, is shown as the veritable one in which she reposed; but the fashion of the bedstead is too modern to favor the tradition, which, we think, more probably belongs to one of the elaborately carved and canopied open bedsteads, coeval with the days of the Plantagenets, which are to be seen in other chambers of this venerable mansion.

How long Katharine continued the widow of lord Borough is uncertain; but she was probably under twenty years of age when she became, for the second time, the wife of a mature widower, and again undertook the office of a step-mother. It is not unlikely that her residence at Sizergh castle might have led to her marriage with John Neville, lord Latimer, as lady Strickland was a Neville, of Thornton-Briggs, and would naturally afford her kinsman every facility for his courtship to their fair cousin. Lord Latimer was related to Katharine in about the same degree as her first husband, lord Borough.² The date of her marriage

¹ The arms of D'Eyncourt, quartering Strickland, Roos, and Parr, are painted in the upper part of the antique window of the apartment in Sizergh castle called 'the inlaid chamber,' which, from that circumstance, has been mistaken for 'the queen's room' by Mr. Allom, in his *Beauties of Westmoreland*.

² The maternal ancestors of Katharine's second husband were the Latimers, lords of Corby and Shenstone, afterwards of Braybrooke and Danby. The

with this nobleman is not known. He had been previously married twice: first, to Elizabeth daughter of Sir Richard Musgrave, who died without issue;¹ secondly, to Dorothy daughter of sir George de Vere, and sister and co-heiress to John de Vere, fourteenth earl of Oxford, by whom he had two children, John and Margaret.² The second lady Latimer died in 1526-27.

After Katharine became the wife of lord Latimer, she chiefly resided with him and his family at his stately mansion of Snape hall, in Yorkshire, which is thus described by Leland:—"Snape, a goodly castel in a valley belonging to the lord Latimer, with two or three good parks well wooded about it. It is his chief house, and standeth about two miles from Great-Tanfield." The manors of Cumberton, Wadborough, and several other estates in Worcestershire, which he inherited from Elizabeth Beauchamp, were settled on Katharine Parr at her marriage with this wealthy noble. The ancestors of Katharine Parr, the Marmions, had formerly held sway at Tanfield; and through the marriage of her grandfather, sir William Parr, with Elizabeth Fitzhugh, the grand-daughter of the heiress of sir Robert Marmion, the castle and manor of Tanfield descended to the father of Katharine, and was now the property of her brother, young William Parr. He was at that time childless; and as Katharine was his heiress-presumptive, there was a contingency, by no means remote, of this demesne, which was so desirably contiguous to her husband's estates, falling to her. It would be too much to say that lord Latimer had an eye to this contingency when he sought the hand of Katharine

heiress of this family, marrying John lord Neville, of Raby and Middleham, became the mother of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, whose fifth son, by Joanna Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, took the title of lord Latimer, and married the third daughter and co-heiress of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. From this pair John Neville, lord Latimer, Katharine's husband, was the fourth in descent. He was the eldest son of a family of thirteen children.—Hopkinson's MSS.

¹ Lord Latimer was united to this lady July 20, 1518, in the chapel of his manor of Snape during his father's life, being then only a knight.—Wolsey's Register, p. 94. Unpublished History of the Family of Neville, by Daniel Rowland, Esq.

² Rev. T. Nash, *Archæologia*, vol. ix. p. 6.

Parr, for she was young, lovely, accomplished, learned, and virtuous ; and, to a man who had enjoyed the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the perfections of a mind like hers, the worldly advantages that might accrue from a matrimonial alliance with her must have been considerations of a very secondary nature. Fortunate indeed must lord Latimer have felt himself in being able to obtain so charming a companion for his latter days, and at the same time one so well qualified to direct the studies and form the minds of his children. The amiable temper and sound sense of Katharine taught her to perform the difficult duties that devolved upon her, in the character of a step-mother, with such conscientious and endearing gentleness, that she insured the love and esteem of all the families with whom she was connected in that capacity. During the first years of her marriage with lord Latimer, she pursued the noiseless tenor of her way in the peaceful routine and privacy of domestic life, to which those talents and acquirements, which afterwards rendered her the admiration of the most learned men in Europe, and the intellectual model of the ladies of England, were calculated to lend a charm.

Lord Latimer was so strenuous a Roman Catholic that he became one of the leaders of the northern insurrection on account of the suppression of the monasteries and the sequestration of the church property by Cromwell, in 1536. This revolt, though chiefly proceeding from the miseries of a starving population, who found themselves suddenly deprived of the relief of conventual alms in seasons of distress, assumed the tone of a domestic crusade against the supporters of the Reformation, and was called 'the Pilgrimage of Grace.' Forty thousand rustics, in Yorkshire alone, appeared in arms, bearing white banners, with the image of the Saviour on the cross, and the chalice and Host depicted thereon. Their nominal general was Robert Aske, a gentleman of mean condition, and a mysterious personage entitled 'the earl of Poverty ;' but an enthusiastic junta of nobles, knights, and ecclesiastics, at the head of whom was the archbishop of York, lord Neville, lord d'Arcy, and the husband of Katharine Parr, were allied with these adven-

turers.¹ They were knit together with oaths of compact, and they compelled the inhabitants of every village or town to take this oath, and to join 'the pilgrimage.' They became so formidable in a short time that the duke of Norfolk, who was empowered by the king to put down the rebellion, considered it more desirable to negotiate than to fight; and a peaceable conference was appointed, between the royal commissioners and a chosen number of the leading men among the insurgents, at Doncaster. Lord Latimer was one of the delegates nominated by the pilgrims, for the perilous service of laying their grievances before the sovereign, and stating their demands.² Four pledges were given by the duke for the safe return of the delegates.³ They demanded, among other things, the restoration of the monastic establishments and the papal supremacy; the suppression of heretical books, especially the writings of Wickliffe, Luther, Melancthon, and others whom they specified; and that the heretical bishops might be condemned to the flames, or else compelled to do battle in single combat with certain valiantly-disposed pilgrims, who would take upon themselves the office of champions for the church-militant. There were also many legal and statistical reforms required; but the most extraordinary demand of the northern democracy was, "that the king should expel from his council all men of *vileyn* blood, especially Cromwell, Rich, and others, who had risen from a humble station in society."⁴ In every era of our history it may be noted that the lower classes have disliked the elevation of persons of their own degree to the exercise of authority in the state. Such is the inconsistency of popular pride.

The king was much offended at the manifesto of the pilgrims, and took upon himself the task of compounding a reply, in which he expressed his astonishment "that ignorant people should go about to instruct him in matters of theology, who somewhat had been noted to be learned in what the true faith should be."⁵ In this his majesty, with all the pride of authorship, evidently designed to recall to

¹ Speed.³ Ibid.⁴ Ibid.² Speed. Lord Herbert.⁵ Speed. Herbert. Lingard.

the memory of the more polite members of the confederacy his own book against Luther, which had procured for him from the pope the title of "defender of the faith." He also angrily complains "of their presumption in wanting to mend his laws, as if, after being their king eight-and-twenty years, he did not know how to govern the realm. He rejected all their petitions, but offered to pardon them for appearing in arms against him if they would give up their ringleaders, and concluded by bidding them admire the benignity of their sovereign." The pilgrims declined the royal grace under such conditions, recalled their delegates, and made them ready for battle. The wise and conciliating policy of the duke of Norfolk prevented the collision which appeared almost inevitable: he prevailed upon the insurgents to lay down their arms, on condition of receiving free pardon from the king, with a promise that their grievances should be discussed in parliament. With some difficulty he induced the king, who was very peevish with him about it, to publish the amnesty without exceptions. The general pardon was dated December 9, 1536. In February the insurrection broke out again, but lord Latimer did not join it. The prudent counsels of Katharine possibly deterred her lord from involving himself a second time in so rash an enterprise. It is certain that by remaining quiescent he escaped the tragic fate of his northern neighbors and late confederates, the lord D'Arcy, sir Robert Constable, sir Stephen Hamerton, and upwards of seventy others, on whom the royal vengeance inflicted the extreme penalty of the law.

The only daughter of sir Stephen Hamerton was betrothed to Katharine's youthful kinsman, Walter Strickland; and not only this family connection, but the execution of several of the Nevilles after the second rising, must have rendered this period a season of fearful anxiety to lord and lady Latimer. It was probably about this time that sir John Russell, the lord privy-seal, took the opportunity of requesting a very inconvenient favor, for one of his friends, of lord Latimer,—namely, that his lordship should oblige this person with the loan of his fine mansion in the church-yard of the Chartreuse, now called the Charter-house. Latimer did not

venture to refuse, but his extreme reluctance to comply with the request may be seen in the following letter written in reply :—¹

“RIGHT HONORABLE AND MY ESPECIAL GOOD LORD :—

“After my most hearty recommendations had to your good lordship. Whereas your lordship doth desire . . . of your friends my house within Chartreux church-yard, beside so . . . I assure your lordship the getting of a lease of it cost me 100 marcs, besides other *pleasures* [improvements] that I did to the house; for it was much my desire to have it, because it stands in good air, out of press of the city. And I do alway lie there when I come to London, and I have no other house to lie at. And, also, I have granted it to farm to Mr. Nudygate [Newdigate], son and heir to serjeant Nudygate, to lie in the said house in my absence; and he to void whensoever I come up to London. Nevertheless, I am contented, if it can do your lordship any pleasure for your friend, that he lie there forthwith. I seek my lodgings at this Michaelmas term myself. And as touching my lease, I assure your lordship it is not here; but I shall bring it right to your lordship at my coming up at this said term, and then and alway I shall be at your lordship’s commandment, as knows our Lord, who preserve your lordship in much honor to his pleasure. From Wyke,² in Worcester-shire, the last day of September.

“Your lordship’s assuredly to command,

“JOHN LATIMER.

“To the right honorable and very especial
good lord, my Lord Privy-seal.”

From this letter we may gather that the household arrangements of the second husband of Katharine Parr were of the same prudential character which induces many of the nobles of the present age to let their mansions, ready furnished, to wealthy commoners, when they retire to their country-seats,—with this difference: lord Latimer’s arrangement with the heir of sergeant Newdigate was a perennial engagement, by which the tenant was to vacate the house when his duties in parliament, or other business, called his lordship to town. It must have been a serious annoyance to all parties for the friend of my lord privy-seal to take the impertinent fancy of occupying lord Latimer’s town-house

¹ *Vespasian*, F xiii. 183, folio 131; an original document in the same volume of the Cottonian MSS. containing letters of Katharine Parr and other persons of her era.

² The Latimers were lords of Wyke Burnell, near Pershore in Worcestershire, which was derived from the alliance of the Nevilles with the Beauchamps, earls of Warwick. Lord Latimer was evidently staying there when he wrote that letter.

under these circumstances; and yet, because the minister prefers the suit, the noble owner of the mansion is compelled to break his agreement with his tenant, and to seek other lodgings for himself against the ensuing session of parliament, in order to accommodate a person who has evidently no claim on his courtesy. But a man who had been once in arms against the sovereign would, in that reign, be careful how he afforded cause for offence to one of the satellites of the crown. After his name had been connected with the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' lord Latimer had a delicate game to play; and it was well for him that his wife was related to the king, and the niece of a favored member of the royal household,—sir William Parr. Katharine's sister, lady Herbert, had an appointment in Jane Seymour's court, and assisted at the christening of Edward VI.

That Katharine Parr was not only acquainted with Henry VIII., but possessed a considerable influence over his mind some years before there was the slightest probability of her ever becoming the sharer of his throne, is certified by the history of the Throckmorton family, to which we are principally indebted for the following details. Sir George Throckmorton, the husband of Katharine Parr's aunt, having incurred the ill-will of lord Cromwell, in consequence of some disputes arising from the contiguity of their manors of Coughton Court and Oursley, Cromwell endeavored to compass the ruin of his aristocratic neighbor by accusing him of having denied the king's supremacy.¹ The charge was peculiarly alarming to Throckmorton, because his brother Michael was in the service of cardinal Pole, and had taken an active part in opposing the king's divorce from Katharine.

¹ MS. Throckmorton, collated by Brown Willis. Among the incipient proofs of Cromwell's seizure of the Throckmorton property, is his possession of a house in Throckmorton street, where his oppression of his poor neighbors is commemorated by Stowe, whose father was a sufferer. That the Throckmortons had a city house there is proved by the MS. quoted above, where it mentions that, after the death of Edward VI., the four sons of that family met there for a consultation—

"In London, in a house that bore our name."

Throckmorton house was evidently one of Cromwell's spoils, seized for a time from that family.

rine of Arragon, as we are told by his kinsman in the following lines from a metrical chronicle of the life of sir Nicholas Throckmorton :—

“For after that resolved stood the king
To take a new, and leave his wedded wife,
My uncle was the means to work the thing
By Reynold Poole, who brewed all the strife;
And then at Rome did work the contrary,
Which drave the king at home to tyranny.”

*Throckmorton MS.*¹

The subject of sir George Throckmorton's imprisonment, and the distress of his family, is introduced in these quaint lines :—

“My father's foes clapt him, through cankered hate,
In Tower fast, and gaped to joint his neck.
They were in hope for to obtain a *mate*,
Who heretofore had labored for a *check*;
Yea, Grevills grieved him ill without a cause,
Who hurt not them, nor yet the prince's laws.

“Thus everything did run against the *hair* ;²
Our name disgraced, and we hut witless boys,
Did deem it hard such crosses then to bear,—
Our minds more fit to deal with childish toys;
But troubles are of perfect wit the schools,
When life at will feeds men as fat as fools.”

After drawing rather a ludicrous picture of their tribulations, and comparing lady Throckmorton in her tears to a drowned mouse, he introduces the family of Parr on the scene :—

“While flocking foes to work our bane were bent,
While thunder-claps of angry Jove did last,
Then to lord Parr my mother³ saw me sent,
So with her brother I was safely placed ;

¹ This curious literary treasure belongs to the Throckmorton MS., and contains some of the most remarkable passages in the life of sir Nicholas Throckmorton (the son of sir George and Katharine Parr's aunt), arranged in verse by his nephew, sir Thomas Throckmorton: the poem consists of 229 stanzas, of six lines each. The near relationship between queen Katharine Parr and the Throckmorton family renders it a valuable addition to the scanty records of this period of her life.

² Similar to the proverbial saying, ‘against the grain.’

³ This lady was the daughter of Katharine's grandmother, widow of sir William Parr, K.G., by a second marriage with sir Nicholas Vaux; consequently,

Of alms he kept me in extremity,
Who did misdoubt a worse calamity.

"Oh, lucky looks that fawned on Katharine Parr!
A woman rare like her but seldom seen,
To Borough first, and then to Latimer
She widow was, and then became a queen.
My mother prayed her niece, with watery eyes,
To rid both her and hers from endless cries.

"She, willing of herself to do us good,
Sought out the means her uncle's life to save,
And when the king was in his pleasing mood,
She humbly then her suit began to crave;
With wooing times denials disagree,
She spake and sped,—my father was set free."

In his rapturous allusion to the good offices of Katharine Parr, the poet, by mentioning her subsequent marriage with the king, a little confuses the time when her intercession was successfully employed for the deliverance of sir George Throckmorton. The date of this event is clearly defined, in the prose documents of the Throckmorton family, to have taken place in the year 1540, by the statement "that sir George was released through the influence of his kinswoman, the lady Katharine Parr, and advised with by the king, at her suggestion, about Cromwell, immediately before the arrest of that minister," which was in the June of that year.¹ This fact throws a new light on the fall of Cromwell, and leads us to infer that his ruin was caused, not, as Burnet and his copyists assert, by the enmity of Katharine

lady Throckmorton was sister, by the half-blood, to Katharine Parr's father and uncle. Lord Vaux of Harrowden, the younger brother of lady Throckmorton, married Elizabeth Green, sister to lady Parr, and both these ladies were the grand-daughters of Matilda Throckmorton, whose stately monument is to be seen in the church of Green's Norton. Thus we see that Katharine Parr was bound in a triple cord of alliance with the family of Throckmorton.—Baker's Northamptonshire. Throckmorton Papers.

¹ This important incident is recorded in Brown Willis's history of the ancient family of Throckmorton, drawn up from the archives of that house in the year 1730. By the courtesy of the late venerable and lamented sir Charles Throckmorton, Bart., I have been favored with some interesting and valuable extracts connected with the history of Katharine Parr from that work, and other family documents, which were kindly transcribed by our mutual friend Miss Jane Porter, the accomplished author of *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, and many other works illustrative of the *beau idéal* of heroism and virtue.

Howard, but of her unsuspected successor Katharine Parr, at that time the wife of a zealous Catholic peer, and herself a member of the church of Rome. It was probably from the eloquent lips of this strong-minded and intrepid lady, when pleading for the life of her uncle, that Henry learned the extent of Cromwell's rapacity, and the real state of the public mind as to his administration; and thus we may, perhaps, account for the otherwise mysterious change in the royal mind, when the monarch, after loading his favorite with honors and immunities, suddenly resolved to sacrifice him to popular indignation as a scape-goat, on whose shoulders the political sins of both king and council might be conveniently laid. Sir George Throckmorton took an active part in bringing his former persecutor to the block, and instead of being stripped by him of his fair domain of Coughton Court, was enabled to purchase Cromwell's manor of Oursley, on advantageous terms, of the crown, and to transmit it to his descendants, in whose possession it remains at the present day.¹

Few things, perhaps, tend more importantly to the elucidation of historical mysteries than the study of genealogies. It is by obtaining an acquaintance with the family connections of the leading actors in any memorable era that we gain a clue to the secret springs of their actions, and perceive the wheel within a wheel which impelled to deeds otherwise unaccountable. The brother of Katharine Parr was the husband of the heiress of the last earl of Essex, of the ancient line of Bouchier; but on the demise of that nobleman, those honors, which in equity ought to have been vested in his descendants, were, to the indignation of all the connections of the Bouchiers and Parrs, bestowed on Cromwell.² The death of that rapacious min-

¹ MS. Throckmorton. This statement is confirmed by Pollino, who says that Henry had secret consultations with a noble cavalier, called *Roberto Trogmorton*, in order to bring about the fall of Cromwell.

² The presumption of the blacksmith-secretary in aspiring to the title of earl of Essex was the more offensive to the legal claimants of the honors of that high family, because the second title of the Bouchiers was lord Cromwell, they being the sole descendants and representatives of the extinct line of barons of that name; and the mushroom minister of Henry VIII. certainly meant to

ister smoothed the way for the summons of William Parr to the house of lords as earl of Essex, in the right of his wife. Katharine herself came in for a share of the spoils of the enemy of her house, for his manor of Wimbledon was settled on her. Tradition says that she resided at the mansion at some period of her life. A portion of this ancient edifice was in existence within a few years.¹ Cromwell was the third great statesman of Henry VIII.'s cabinet, within the brief period of ten years, whose fall is attributable to female influence. Wolsey and More were the victims of Anne Boleyn's undisguised animosity, and the influence of Katharine Parr appears to have been equally fatal to Cromwell, although her consummate prudence in avoiding any demonstration of hostility has prevented her from being recognized as the author of his ruin, save in the records of the house of Throckmorton.

The execution of the unfortunate queen, Katharine Howard, in February, 1542, preceded the death of Katharine Parr's second husband, lord Latimer, about twelve months. The will of lord Latimer is dated September 12, 1542, but as it was not proved till the 11th of the following March,² it is probable that he died early in 1543. In this document, lord Latimer bequeaths to the lady Katharine, his wife, the manors of Nunmonkton and Hamerton. He bequeaths his body "to be buried on the south side of the church of Well, where his ancestors were buried, if he should die in Yorkshire; appointing that the master of the hospital and vicar of the church of Well should take and receive all the rents and profits of the parsonage of Askham Richard, in the county of the city of York, as also of the parsonage of St. George's church in York, for the time of forty years, wherewith to endow a grammar-school at Well, and to pray for him the founder."³ The latter clause affords evidence that lord Latimer died, as he had lived, a member of the church

assume that, because he bore the name, he was the rightful heir of that extinct family.

¹ Mauning's History of Surrey.

² Testameuta Vetusta; sir H. Nicolas.

³ Ibid. Whittaker's Richmondshire.

of Rome. There is, however, neither monument nor memorial of him in the church of Well, for he died, not in Yorkshire, but in London, and was interred in St. Paul's cathedral.¹

The conversion of Katharine to the principles of the reformed religion did not, in all probability, take place till after the decease of lord Latimer, when, unbiassed by the influence of that zealous supporter of the ancient system, she found herself at liberty to listen to the impassioned eloquence of the apostles of the Reformation,—men who were daily called upon to testify the sincerity of their profession through tortures and a fiery death. The house of the noble and learned widow soon became the resort of such men as Coverdale, Latimer, and Parkhurst; and sermons were daily preached in her chamber of state by those who were desirous of restoring the practice of the Christian religion to its primitive simplicity.²

Katharine was not only pious, learned, and passing fair, but possessed of great wealth as the mistress of two ample jointures, both unencumbered. With these advantages, and connected as she was, either by descent or marriage, with some of the noblest families in England, even with royalty itself in no very remote degree, it is not to be supposed that she was left unwooed. At an early stage of her widowhood she was sought in marriage by sir Thomas Seymour, the brother of the late queen Jane, and uncle to the infant heir of England. Sir Thomas Seymour enjoyed the favor of his royal brother-in-law in a high degree, and was the handsomest and most admired bachelor of the court. He was gay, magnificent, and brave, excelling in all the manly exercises of that age, and much distinguished by the richness of his dress and ornaments, in which his fashions were implicitly followed by the other courtiers; and with the ladies he was considered irresistible. How it happened that the learned and devout lady Latimer should be the one to fix the wandering heart of this gay and reckless gallant, for whom the sprightliest beauties of the court had sighed in vain, has never been explained, nor is it always possible

¹ History of the House of Neville.

² Echard.

to account for the inconsistencies of love. As the Seymours were among the political leaders of the anti-papal party, it is probable that sir Thomas might be induced to attend the religious assemblies that were held at the house of this distinguished lady from motives of curiosity in the first instance, till a more powerful interest was excited in his mind by her charms and winning deportment. Be this as it may, it is certain that Katharine fully returned his passion, as she herself subsequently acknowledges, "and had determined to become his wife at that time, if her will had not, for wise purposes, been overruled by a higher power."¹

A more important destiny was reserved for her, and while she delayed her union with the man of her heart till a proper interval from the death of her husband should have elapsed, her hand was demanded by a third widower, in the decline of life, and the father of three children, by three different wives. This widower was no other than her sovereign, who had remained in a disconsolate state of gloomy celibacy since the execution of his fifth queen, apparently wearied out by the frequent disappointments and mistakes that had attended his ventures in the matrimonial lottery. His desire for conjugal companionship was, however, unabated ; and rendered, perhaps, wiser by experience, he determined, in his selection of a sixth wife, not to be guided by externals only. The circumstances that led to Henry's marriage with Katharine Parr are quaintly glanced at by her poet-cousin, sir Thomas Throckmorton, who dates the advancement of his family from that event :—

"But when the king's fifth wife had lost her head,
 Yet he mislikes the life to live alone,
 And, once resolved the sixth time for to wed,
 He sought outright to make his choice of one :
 That choice was chance right happy for us all,
 It brewed our bliss, and rid us quite from thrall."

Throckmorton MS.

When the celebrated act of parliament was passed which rendered it a capital offence for any lady who had ever

¹ Letters of Queen Katharine Parr to the lord admiral, sir Thomas Seymour.

made a lapse from virtue to contract matrimony with her sovereign without first apprising him of her fault, it had been shrewdly observed that his majesty had now no other alternative than to marry a widow. No spinster, however pure her conduct might have been, it was presumed, would venture to place herself within the peril of a penalty which might be inflicted on the most innocent woman in the world the moment she ceased to charm the unprincipled tyrant, whose fickleness was only equalled by his malice and cruelty. When Henry first made known to lady Latimer that she was the lady whom he intended to honor with the sixth reversion of his hand, she was struck with dismay, and, in the terror with which his cruel treatment of his matrimonial victims inspired her, frankly told him "that it was better to be his mistress than his wife."¹ A few months after marriage, such a sarcasm on his conduct as a husband might have cost Henry's best-loved queen her head; as it was, this cutting observation from the lips of a matron of Katharine's well-known virtue, though it must have afforded him a mortifying idea of the estimation in which the dignity of queen-consort was regarded by the ladies of his court, had no other effect than to increase the eagerness of his suit to the reluctant widow. Fear was not, however, her only objection to become the wife of Henry; love was, for a while, victorious over ambition in the heart of Katharine. Her affection for Seymour rendered her very listless about the royal match at first,² but her favored lover presumed not to contest the prize with his all-powerful brother-in-law and sovereign. A rival of Henry's temper, who held the heads of wives, kinsmen, and favorites as cheaply as tennis-balls, was not to be withstood. The Adonis of the court vanished from the scene, and the bride-elect, accommodating her mind as she best might to the change of bridegroom, prepared to assume, with a good grace, the glittering fetters of a queenly slave.

The arrangements for the royal nuptials were made with a celerity truly astonishing; barely three months intervened between the proving of lord Latimer's will and the day on

¹ Leti.

² Strype's Memorials, vol. ii., part 1, p. 206.

which Cranmer grants a license "for the marriage of his sovereign lord, king Henry, with Katharine Latymer, late the wife of the lord de Latymer, deceased, in whatever church, chapel, or oratory he may please, without publication of banns, dispensing with all ordinances to the contrary for reasons concerning the honor and advancement of the whole realm."¹ Dated July 10, 1543. Two days afterwards Katharine exchanged her briefly-worn weeds of widowhood for the bridal robes of a queen of England,—robes that had proved fatal trappings to four of her five predecessors in the perilous dignity to which it was the pleasure of her enamoured sovereign to advance her. The nuptials of Henry VIII. and Katharine Parr, instead of being hurried over secretly in some obscure corner, like some unhallowed mystery (as was the case in his previous marriages with Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard), were solemnized much in the same way as royal marriages are in the present times, without pageantry, but with all suitable observances. The ceremony was performed by Gardiner bishop of Winchester in the queen's closet at Hampton Court, and the high respect of the monarch for his bride was proved by his permitting the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, his daughters, and his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas, to assist at these nuptials.² The queen was also supported by her sister Mrs. Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke; her beloved friend Katharine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk; Anne countess of Hertford,³ and Jane lady Dudley. The king was attended by his brother-in-law the earl of Hertford, lord John Russell (privy-seal), sir Anthony Browne (master of the pensioners), Henry Howard, Richard Long, Thomas d'Arcy, Edward Baynton (the husband of the late queen's sister), Anthony Denny and Thomas Speke, knights, and William Herbert, the brother-in-law of his bride.⁴

It is scarcely possible but the cheek of Katharine must

¹ Chronological Catalogue of Papers for New Rymer, p. 238.

² Notarial certificate in the Chapter-house, No. 400; date, July, 1543.

³ Afterwards the duchess of Somerset, wife to the protector, and Katharine Parr's bitterest enemy.

⁴ Notarial certificate.

have blanched when the nuptial ring was placed on her finger by the ruthless hand that had signed the death-warrant of two of his consorts within the last seven years. If a parallel might be permitted between the grave facts of history and the creations of romance, we should say that the situation of Henry's sixth queen greatly resembled that of the fair Scheherazade in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, who voluntarily contracted matrimony with sultan Schriar, though aware that it was his custom to marry a fresh wife every day, and cut off her head the next morning. The sound principles, excellent judgment, and endearing qualities of Katharine Parr, and, above all, her superlative skill as a nurse, by rendering her necessary to the comfort of the selfish and irritable tyrant who had chosen her as a helpmeet for him in the season of premature old age and increasing disease, afforded her best security from the fate of her predecessors. But of this hereafter.

Among the unpublished MSS. in the State-Paper office we find the following paragraph in a letter from sir Thomas Wriothesley, relating to the recent bridal of the sovereign:—"I doubt not of your grace knowing, by the fame and otherwise, that the king's majesty was married on Thursday last to my lady Latimer, a woman, in my judgment, for certain wisdom and gentleness most meet for his highness; and sure I am his majesty had never a wife more agreeable to his heart than she is. The Lord grant them long life, and much joy together!"¹ On the day of her marriage, queen Katharine presented her royal step-daughter and bride-maid, the princess Mary, with a magnificent pair of gold bracelets set with rubies, and the yet more acceptable gift in money of 25*l*.² Of course the princess Elizabeth, who also assisted at the bridal, was not forgotten. The pecuniary present to Mary was repeated on the 26th of September.³

Katharine Parr had now for the third time undertaken the office of a step-mother,—an office at all times of much difficulty and responsibility, but peculiarly so with regard

¹ This letter seems to be written to the duke of Norfolk.

² Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary; edited by sir F. Madden.

³ *Ibid*.

to the children of Henry VIII., who were the offspring of queens so fatally opposed as Katharine of Arragon, Anne Boleyn, and Jane Seymour had successively been. How well the sound sense and endearing manners of Katharine Parr fitted her to reconcile the rival interests, and to render herself a bond of union between the disjointed links of the royal family, is proved by the affection and respect of her step-children, and also by their letters after king Henry's death. Whether a man who had so glaringly violated the duties of a father to his daughters as Henry had done deserves any credit for paternal care in his choice of his sixth queen, it would be difficult to say; but it was scarcely possible for him to have selected a lady better qualified to conduce to the happiness of his children, to improve their minds, and to fit them, by the inculcation of virtuous and noble sentiments, to adorn the high station to which they were born.

The union of the sovereign with the pious and learned lady Latimer was the cause of great joy to the university of Cambridge, where the doctrines of the Reformation had already taken deep root. The opinions of this erudite body on the subject are eloquently expressed in their congratulatory address to Henry on his marriage. Katharine Parr, while queen-consort of England, continued to correspond with the university of Cambridge, in the name of which the celebrated Roger Ascham thanks her for her royal benefactions and the suavity of her letters. "Write to us oftener," says the enthusiastic scholar, "*eruditissima regina*, and do not despise the term erudition, most noble lady: it is the praise of your industry, and a greater one to your talents than all the ornaments of your fortune. We rejoice vehemently in your happiness, most happy princess! because you are learning more amidst the occupations of your dignity than many with us do in all our leisure and quiet."¹

The dignity of the scholar and the queen are beautifully blended with the tenderness of the woman and the devotedness of the Christian in the line of conduct adopted by Katharine Parr after her elevation to a throne. Her situa-

¹ Ascham's Epistles, 303.

tion at this period is not unlike that of Esther in the house of Ahasuerus. Her attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation naturally rendered her an object of jealous ill-will to Gardiner bishop of Winchester, the leader of the anti-papal Henrican party;¹ and as early as the second week after her marriage, this daring ecclesiastic ventured to measure his power against that of the royal bride, by an attack on an humble society of reformers at Windsor. Anthony Persons, a priest, John Marbeck, a chorister, Robert Testwood, and Henry Filmer were the leading persons attached to this community, but it was suspected that they received encouragement from members of the royal household. Dr. London, one of the most unprincipled agents of Cromwell in the spoliation of the abbey, had, since the fall of his patron, changed his tack, and was employed by the triumphant faction in preparing a book of informations, denouncing every person in Windsor who was suspected of holding opinions at variance with the six articles. This book was presented to Gardiner, who moved the king in council that a commission should be granted for searching all the houses in Windsor for books written in favor of the new learning.² Henry acceded to this measure as regarded the town, but excepted the castle, his own royal residence, having doubtless shrewd reason to suspect that more works of the kind objected to would be found in the closets and chambers of those nearest and dearest to him than among the poor and unlearned inhabitants of Windsor.

A few MS. notes on the Bible, and a Latin Concordance in progress of arrangement, which were found in the house of Marbeck, furnished an excuse for the arrest, trial, and condemnation of himself and his three friends. Nothing could induce them to betray any person in the royal household to save themselves from the fiery death with which

¹ It is difficult to find any other name by which to describe persons who upheld the ceremonies of the Romish church and rejected the supremacy of the pope, unless we style them Henricans, from their royal founder, Henry VIII. It is the most vulgar of mistakes to call Gardiner and his colleagues *papists*, they having adopted Henry VIII. for the head of their church in opposition to the pope, from whom they were *then* in a state of separation.

² Burnet.

they were menaced. Marbeck found an intercessor sufficiently powerful and courageous to represent his case to the king. Henry was shown the Latin Concordance, of which several hundred pages were completed. "Poor Marbeck!" exclaimed he, with an unwonted burst of sympathy, "it would be well for thine accusers if they had employed their time no worse."¹ A reprieve was granted to Marbeck; but Persons, Testwood, and Filmer were sent to the stake, July 26th, two days after their condemnation. Though the flames of their martyrdom were kindled almost in the sight of Henry's Protestant queen, she was unable to avert the fate of the victims; and well aware was she that the blow which produced this fell sacrifice of human life was aimed at herself, and would be followed by an attack on persons in her immediate confidence. The murder of these humble reformers was, indeed, but the preliminary move in the bold yet subtle game which Gardiner was playing against the more elevated individuals professing the same religion with the queen.

Dr. Haines, the dean of Exeter and a prebendary of Windsor, sir Philip Hoby and his lady, sir Thomas Carden, and other members of the royal household were denounced by Dr. London and his coadjutor Symonds, as persons encouraging the new learning, and were placed under arrest.² The only evidence against them that could be produced was contained in certain inferences and false statements which Dr. London had suborned Ockham, the clerk of the court, to introduce into the notes he had taken at the trials of the recent victims.³ The queen, having obtained full information of these proceedings, sent one of her most trusty and courageous servants into court to expose the iniquity of this plot. Ockham was arrested and his papers seized, which afforded full proof of the base conspiracy into which he had entered, and the whole transaction was laid before the king. The tables were now completely turned. London and Symonds were sent for and examined on oath, and, not being aware that their letters were intercepted, fully

¹ Soame's History of the Reformation.

² Burnet.

³ Ibid., Hist. Ref., vol. i. p. 312. Rapin. Hall.

committed themselves, were found guilty of perjury, and sentenced to be placed on horseback with their faces to the horses' tails, with papers on their foreheads setting forth their perjury, and set in the pillory at Windsor. Katharine sought no further vengeance, and the mortification caused by this disgraceful punishment is supposed to have caused Dr. London's death.¹

Such were the scenes that marked the bridal month of Katharine Parr as queen of England,—that month which is generally styled the honey-moon. Her elevation to the perilous dignity of queen-consort afforded her, however, the satisfaction of advancing the fortunes of various members of her own family. She bestowed the office of lord chamberlain on her uncle, lord Parr of Horton; she made her sister, lady Herbert, one of her ladies of the bedchamber; and her step-daughter, Margaret Neville, the daughter of her deceased husband lord Latimer, one of her maids of honor. Her brother, William Parr, was created earl of Essex,² in right of his wife, having been previously made baron Parr of Kendal. The preferment which queen Katharine's cousins of the house of Throckmorton obtained, through her powerful patronage, is thus quaintly described by the poetical chronicler of that family:—

“Lo, then! my brethren, Clement, George, and I,
 Did seek, as youth doth still, in court to be;
 Each other state as base we did defy
 Compared with court, the nurse of dignity.
 ’Tis truly said, no fishing to the seas—
 No serving but a king—if you can please.

* * * * *

¹ Burnet, vol. i.

² This gentleman enjoyed not only the favor, but the esteem of king Henry, who honored him with the name of “his Integrity.” The young prince, afterwards Edward VI., always called him “his honest uncle.” He was finally advanced to the title of marquess of Northampton. Like his sister, queen Katharine, he possessed an elegant and cultivated mind, and delighted in poetry and music. His marriage with the heiress of Essex was a miserable one, and was dissolved in consequence of the incontinence of the lady. The portrait of the marquess, among the Holbein heads in her majesty’s collection, represents him as a model of manly beauty.

“First in the court my brother Clement served,
A fee he had the queen her cup to bring;
And some supposed that I right well deserved,
When sewer they saw me chosen to the king:
My brother George, by valor in youth rare,
A pension got, and gallant halbert bare.”

One of the first fruits of queen Katharine's virtuous influence over the mind of the king was the restoration of his daughters, the persecuted Mary and the young neglected Elizabeth, to their proper rank in the court, and recognition in the order of succession to the crown. The privy-purse expenses of the princess Mary bear evidence of many little traits of kindness and friendly attentions which she, from time to time, received from her amiable step-mother. When Mary was taken ill, on her journey between Grafton and Woodstock, the queen sent her own litter to convey her to Ampthill, where she was herself residing with the king. On the New-year's day after her marriage,¹ queen Katharine sent her footman Jacob with the present of a cheese for the princess Mary, who guerdoned the bearer with seven and sixpence. A rich night-gown, or evening-dress, is on another occasion sent by queen Katharine to Mary by Fitton, the keeper of the royal robes. Mary's reward to Fitton was fifteen shillings. Mary embroidered a cushion with her own hands as an offering for the queen, and paid seven and sixpence to John Hayes for devising the pattern.² Katharine, on her marriage, received into her household one Mrs. Barbara, undoubtedly at the request of the princess Mary, who had kindly supplied this person with money, clothes, food, and medical attendance during a long illness. An item occurs, at the time of Katharine Parr's marriage, in the accounts of the princess, of money presented to Mrs. Barbara when she was sworn queen's woman; and being thus honorably provided for, her name no longer occurs on the list of Mary's pensioners.

Notwithstanding the great difference in their religious tenets, a firm friendship ever subsisted between Katharine Parr and Mary. They were near enough in age to have

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of Princess Mary, by sir F. Madden.

² Ibid.

been sisters, they excelled in the same accomplishments, and the great learning and studious pursuits of these royal ladies rendered them suitable companions for each other. The more brilliant talents of the young Elizabeth were drawn forth and fostered under the auspices of her highly-gifted step-mother. Katharine Parr took also an active part in directing the studies of the heir of England, and her approbation appears to have been the greatest encouragement the prince could receive. In a letter, written in French, to queen Katharine, Edward notices the beauty of her penmanship. "I thank you," says he, "most noble and excellent queen, for the letters you have lately sent me, not only for their beauty, but for their imagination; for when I see your *belle écriture* [fair writing] and the excellence of your genius, greatly surpassing my invention, I am sick of writing. But then I think how kind your nature is, and that whatever proceeds from a good mind and intention will be acceptable; and so I write you this letter."¹ A modern author has noticed the great similarity between the handwriting of Edward VI. and Katharine Parr, and from this circumstance it has been conjectured that Katharine superintended the education of one or other of the juvenile members of the royal family, previous to her marriage with king Henry. No official evidence of her appointment to any office of the kind has been discovered, but her great reputation for wisdom and learning renders the tradition not improbable. Certain it is, that after she became queen she took great delight in directing the studies of her royal step-children. It is evident that Edward VI., queen Elizabeth, and their youthful cousins, lady Jane and lady Katharine Gray, all imbibed her taste for classic literature, and her attachment to the principles of the Reformation. She induced not only Elizabeth, but Mary, to translate passages from the Scriptures. Each of these princesses compiled a little manual of devotions in Latin, French, and English, dedicated to their accomplished step-mother.²

¹ Ellis, p. 132.

² For a description of these books, see the succeeding biographies of queen Mary and queen Elizabeth.

Katharine Parr's celebrity as a scholar and a theologian did not render her neglectful of the feminine accomplishment of needlework, in which, notwithstanding her early resistance to its practice, she much delighted. Like Henry's first excellent queen, Katharine of Arragon, she employed her hours of retirement in embroidering among her ladies. It is said that a portion of the hangings which ornamented the royal apartments of the Tower, before they were dismantled or destroyed, were the work of this queen; the only specimens, however, that are now to be found of her skill and industry in this pleasing art are those preserved at Sizergh castle. Her taste in dress appears to have been excellent, uniting magnificence of material with a simplicity of form. In fact, the costume of Katharine Parr, as shown in the celebrated miniature belonging to the Strawberry hill collection, might be worn with perfect propriety in any courtly circle of the present age.

Katharine Parr enacted the queen with as much royal state and splendor as the loftiest of her predecessors. She granted an interview to the Spanish duke de Nevara at Westminster palace, February 17, 1544. This Spanish grandee visited England on his return from the army of Charles V., and was admitted to pay his respects to the queen and her daughter-in-law the princess Mary. The queen permitted him to kiss her hand. Pedro de Gante, secretary to the grandee, has described her dress with the zeal of a man-milliner. She wore a kirtle of brocade, and an open robe of cloth of gold; the sleeves lined with crimson satin, and trimmed with three-piled crimson velvet; the train more than two yards long. Suspended from the neck were two crosses, and a jewel of very rich diamonds; in her head-dress, also, were many rich and beautiful ones. Her girdle was of gold, with very large pendants.

The original miniature of this queen, from which the engraving of her likeness for this biography is taken, was found in the collection of Horace Walpole. It is a small oval, on a deep smalt-blue background. Her age is stated, in gilt figures in front of the picture, to be xxxii.; so that the likeness must have been taken in the year 1545, about

two years after her marriage with Henry VIII. Katharine is there represented with very small and delicately marked features, hazel eyes, and golden hair, folded in simple Madonna bands. Her forehead is lofty and serene, indicative of talent and sprightly wit. She wears a round crimson velvet hood or cap of state, edged with pearls, and surmounted with a jewelled band of goldsmiths' work set with rubies and pearls, which confines a long black veil, that flows from the back of the head-dress over the shoulders. The bodice and sleeves of the dress are made of rich gold brocade, and set tight to the shape: the bodice is cut plain across the bust, like the corsage of a modern dress, and is edged with a row of pearls between pipes of black and crimson velvet. She wears a double row of large pearls about her neck, from which depends a ruby cross, finished with one fair pendant pearl. Her bodice is ornamented with a large ruby brooch, set in filigree gold. This miniature excited much interest at the sale of Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry hill, where it was purchased by the present possessor of Sudely castle, Mr. Dent, through whose courtesy I enjoyed last summer, 1848, the opportunity of a second inspection through a powerful magnifying-glass, which enabled me, to my own surprise as well as that of every one else, to unfold an unsuspected mystery connected with the brooch that decorates the front of the bodice. That ornament, in actual measurement not much bigger than a large spangle, contains the miniature portrait of king Henry, crowned and royally robed, seated on his throne under a canopy of state supported by pillars, holding an orb in one hand, a sceptre in the other, having his foot on an ornamented stool: the whole is richly and elaborately decorated with burnished gold and imitations of colored gems, principally rubies, sapphires, and pearls,—in fact, it is the smallest specimen of illumination ever seen. The marvel is that eyes and fingers were ever formed to execute so diminutive a work of art. Perhaps this was the veritable miniature which the admiral, sir Thomas Seymour, obtained from Katharine, when he subsequently entreated her "to send him one of her little pictures, if she had not given

them all away,"—a proof that several original miniatures of this queen were painted, although they are now almost as rare and difficult to identify as those of Katharine Howard. The engraving usually stated to be from an original painting of Katharine Parr,¹ possesses none of her characteristics. It is a shrewd, sordid-looking female, of rather large proportions, with dark complexion and hair. Katharine Parr was *petite* in form, with remarkably small and delicately-cut features, and her complexion was that of a genuine Westmoreland beauty,—brilliantly fair and blooming, with hazel eyes, and hair of a golden auburn, realizing the *beau idéal* of Petrarca, when he exclaims:—

“Love! from what precious mine of gold didst thou
Bring the rich glories of her shining hair?
Where plucked the opening roses, fresh and fair,
Which on her cheeks in tender blushes glow?”

Katharine Parr's celebrated work, *The Lamentations of a Sinner*, was written after her marriage with the king. This little volume, next to the writings of sir Thomas More, affords one of the finest specimens of English composition of that era. It is a brief but eloquent treatise on the imperfection of human nature in its unassisted state, and the utter vanity of all earthly grandeur and distinction. Within the limited compass of about 120 miniature pages it comprises the elements of almost all the sermons that have been levelled against papal supremacy. The royal writer does not forget to compliment king Henry for having emancipated England from this domination:—

“Thanks be given to the Lord that he hath now sent us such a godly and learned king, in these latter days to reign over us, that, with the force of God's word, hath taken away the veils and mists of errors, and brought us to the knowledge of the truth by the light of God's word, which was so long hid and kept under, that the people were well-nigh famished and hungered for lack of spiritual food,—such was the charity of the spiritual curates and shepherds. But our Moses, and most godly wise governor and king, hath delivered us out of the captivity and spiritual bondage of Pharaoh: I mean by this Moses king Henry VIII., my most sovereign favorable lord and husband, one (if Moses had figured any more than Christ), through the excellent grace of God, meet to be another expressed verity of Moses' conquest over Pharaoh (and I mean by this Pharaoh the bishop of Rome), who hath been, and is a greater persecutor of all true Christians than ever was Pharaoh of the children of Israel.”

¹ In Lodge.

The gross flattery offered up to her husband in this passage is somewhat atoned for by the pure morality and Christian holiness which generally pervades the precepts of this little treatise. The zeal with which it is written is extremely ardent, her aspiration for martyrdom frequent: the tenets inculcated are, simply, that all good works arise from the inspiration of the spirit of God, vouchsafed through belief in Christ, derived from prayer and diligent perusal of the Scriptures. She is nearly as severe on those who call themselves ‘gospellers,’ and separate faith and works, as she is on the pope, and she evidently considers them in equal or greater error. Here are her words, and it must be owned that, if she considered her two last husbands, Henry VIII. and Thomas Seymour, exceptions from her description, conjugal partiality must have strangely blinded her:—

“Now I will speak with great dolor and heaviness of heart of a sort of people which be in the world that be called professors of the gospel, and by their words do declare and show that they be much affected to the same. But I am afraid some of them do build on the sand, as Simon Magus did, making a weak foundation: I mean, they make not Christ their chiefest foundation. But either they would be called *gospellers*, and procure some credit and good opinion of the true and very favorers of Christ’s doctrines, either to find out some carnal liberty, either to be contentious disputers, finders, or rebukers of other men’s faults, or else, finally, to please and flatter the world. Such gospellers be an offence and slander to the word of God, and make the wicked to rejoice and laugh, saying, ‘Behold, I pray you, their fair fruits.’ What charity, what discretion, what goodness, holiness, and purity of life is amongst them? Be they not great avengers, foul gluttons, backbiters, adulterers, swearers, and blasphemers? yea, do they not wallow and tumble in all manner of sins? These be the fruits of their doctrine; and yet the word of God is all holy, sincere, and godly, being the doctrine and occasion of all pure living.”

She then, with great earnestness, applies the parable of the sower and his seed, and that of the barren fig-tree. Her precepts to her own sex are as follows:—

“If they be women married, they learn of St. Paul to be obedient to their husbands, and to keep silence in the congregation, and to learn of their husbands at home. Also that they wear such apparel as becometh holiness and comely usage with soberness, not being accusers or detractors, not given to much eating of delicate meats and drinking of wine; but that they teach honest things,—to make the young women sober-minded, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, housewifely, and good, that the word of God may not be evil spoken of.”

Katharine evidently approved of clerical celibacy. The passage in her work from which this inference is drawn is curious, because it shows that she still professed the church established by her husband, which insisted on this point of discipline:—

“The true followers of Christ’s doctrine *hath* always a respect and an eye to their vocation. If they be called to the ministry of God’s word, they preach and teach it sincerely, to the edifying of others, and show *themselves* in their living followers of the same. If they be *married men*,¹ having children and family, they nourish and bring them up, without all bitterness and fierceness, in the doctrine of the Lord, in all godliness and virtue, committing [that is, the married men] the instruction of others, *which appertaineth not to their charge*, to the reformation of God and his ministers.”²

The most remarkable passage in the book is, perhaps, that in which Katharine deploras her former attachment to the ceremonials of the church of Rome, some of her biographers having erroneously asserted that she was brought up in the principles of the Reformation. Those principles were abhorrent to the king, for it was the government, not the essentials, of the Roman Catholic church that he was laboring to overthrow. In such low esteem, indeed, was Henry held by the fathers of the Reformation, that, on his rupture with the princes of the Smalcaldic league, Luther publicly returned thanks to God “for having delivered the Protestant church from that offensive king of England. The king,” says he, on another occasion, “is still the same *old Hintz*”³ as in my first book I pictured him. He will surely find his judge.”⁴

The adulation of a woman of superior intellect was necessary to Henry’s happiness. Katharine presently discovered his weak point, and, by condescending to adapt herself to his humor, acquired considerable influence over his mind.

¹ *Laymen* is the marginal word appended to the sentence, “If they be married men.”

² The black-letter copy from which we draw these extracts was printed at London, “at the long shop adjoining St. Michael’s church, Poultry, 1563, at the instant desire of that right gracious lady, Katharine duchess of Suffolk, and the earnest request of lord William Parr, marquess of Northampton, brother to queen Katharine Parr.”

³ A German abbreviation, meaning the same as “old Harry.”

⁴ Luther’s Familiar Discourses; sect. On the Princes of Europe.

Early in the year 1544, king Henry gave indubitable tokens of the favor with which he regarded queen Katharine, by causing his obedient parliament to settle the royal succession on any children he might have by her, in case of the decease of prince Edward without issue. The wording of the first clause of this act¹ is very curious, inasmuch as Henry treats four of his marriages as absolute nullities, and out of his six queens only condescends to acknowledge two,—namely, Jane Seymour and Katharine Parr. “Forasmuch,” says the record, “as his majesty, sithence the death of the late queen Jane, hath taken to wife Katharine, late wife to sir John Neville, knight, lord Latimer, deceased, by whom as yet his majesty hath none issue, but may full well when it shall please God,” etc., etc. In failure of heirs by his most entirely beloved wife queen Katharine, or any other his lawful wife, Henry, by the same act,² entails the succession on his daughter Mary, and in failure of her line, to his daughter Elizabeth; but who their mothers were he does not think proper to notice, lest he should, by word as well as by deed, contradict his previous decisions as to the unlawfulness of his marriages with Katharine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn. It was, however, too late for Henry VIII. to think of making sacrifices to consistency in his old age, after having followed no other guide than passion or caprice for nearly a quarter of a century.

The record further explains, that this act for settling the succession was made preparatory to the sovereign “undertaking a voyage-royal, in his most royal person, into the realm of France against the French king.”³ Previous to his departure on this expedition, king Henry testified his confidence in Katharine’s wisdom and integrity by appointing her to govern the realm in his absence, by the style and title of queen-regent of England and Ireland.⁴ “The queen,” observes lord Herbert, “was constituted general-regent of the realm, yet not so much that her soft sex was thought less capable of ambition, as that the Roman Catho-

¹ Royal Acts, 37th Henry VIII.; Herbert’s Hist. Henry VIII.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

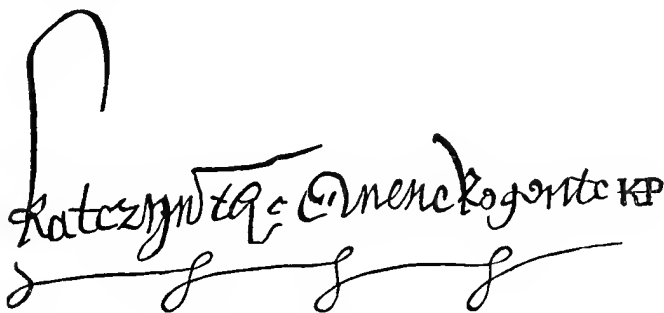
⁴ State-Paper MSS. Acts of Privy Council.

lies, of whom the king was mistrustful, would take no dependence from her, she being observed to incline a little to the reformed." The reformers certainly had the ascendancy in the council appointed by Henry to assist his consort with their advice. Among the minutes of council of July 7th, 36 Henry VIII., we have the following entry connected with Katharine Parr's appointment to this important trust:—

"First, touching the queen's highness and my lord prince. The king's majesty hath resolved that the queen's highness shall be regent in his grace's absence; and that his highness's process shall pass and bear test in her name, as in like cases heretofore hath been accustomed."

The earl of Hertford was ordered to be ever attendant on the person of Katharine, and resident in her court; but if he could not conveniently be there, then Cranmer was for the time to remain with her grace, and with them sir William Petre, and lord Parr¹ of Horton, were to sit in council. Wriothesley and the bishop of Winchester were in this junta. In the queen's commission of regency, Hertford was to be her lieutenant, if she needed such assistance.

Several of the queen-consorts of England have exercised vice-regal power, either by usurpation, or by the consent of the sovereign; but Katharine Parr was the first and only one on whom the style and title of queen-regent was solemnly conferred, and who signed herself as such, as the fac-simile from her official autograph witnesses:—



The image shows a fac-simile of a handwritten signature. The signature is written in a cursive script and reads "Katharine Parr Queen Regent". Below the signature is a long, horizontal, wavy line that serves as a decorative flourish or underline.

¹ Queen Katharine's uncle, and lord chamberlain.

The initials K-P., for Katharine Parr, which are attached to all her regal signatures, prove that neither her elevation to a throne, nor the distinction of the highest title of honor that had ever been borne by a female in England, had rendered her unwilling to remember her simple patronymic.

In the true spirit of a Christian, queen Katharine entered upon her high office by imploring the Divine protection for her royal husband and his realm in the following prayer, which she composed for their use:—¹

“O Almighty King and Lord of Hosts! which by thy angels thereunto appointed dost minister both war and peace, who didst give unto David both courage and strength, being but a little one, unversed and inexpert in feats of war, with his sling to set upon and overthrow the great huge Goliath, our cause now being just, and being enforced to enter into war and battail, we most humbly beseech thee, O Lord God of Hosts, so to turn the hearts of our enemies to the desire of peace that no Christian blood be spilt. Or else grant, O Lord, that, with small effusion of blood and little damage of innocents, we may to thy glory obtain victory; and that the wars being soon ended, we may all, with one heart and mind, knit together in concord and amity, laud and praise Thee, who livest and reignest world without end. Amen.”

King Henry crossed the seas from Dover to Calais in a ship with sails of cloth of gold,² July 14th. The next day he took the field in person, armed at all points, mounted on a great courser, and so rode out of Calais with a princely train, attended by sir William Herbert, the queen's brother-in-law, who bore his head-piece and spear, and followed by the henchmen, bravely horsed and appointed. Katharine's brother the earl of Essex, was chief captain of the men-at-arms in this expedition. On the 26th, Henry appeared before Boulogne, and took the command of his puissance there. The duke of Albuquerque, the general of the allied Spanish forces, encamped on the other side the town, and acted in conformity to the directions of the English monarch, who was the leader of the siege.³

¹ This beautiful aspiration for the restoration of peace is taken from a little volume, entitled “Prayers or Meditations, wherein the Mind is stirred patiently to suffer all Afflictions here, to set at nought the vaine Prosperite of this World, and always to long for the everlasting Felicity; collected out of certaine holy workes by the most vertuous and gracious princesse Katharine, Queen of England, France, and Ireland.” Printed by John Wayland: 12mo, 1545.

² Herbert. Hall.

³ Ibid.

Queen Katharine's correspondence with her absent consort is of a very simple business-like character, giving him an account of the proceedings of the lords of the council in sending him supplies of money and men. In a letter, dated the last day of July, she informs him of the capture of a Scotch ship by certain fishermen of Rye, having on board divers Frenchmen and Scots, with letters to the French king and others in France, which, having examined, she had sent the most important to him, promising him further particulars, if any should be elicited from the bearers of these missives. She concludes in these words:—

“My lord prince, and the rest of your majesty's children, are all, thanks be to God, in very good health; and thus, with my most humble commendations to your majesty, I pray Almighty God have the same in his most blessed keeping. From your majesty's honor of Hampton Court, the last day of July, the 36th year of your majesty's most noble reign.

“Your grace's most humble loving wife and servant,

“KATHERINE THE QUEEN, K-P.”¹

Humility, even to the lowest degree of prostration, pervades Katharine Parr's letters to her formidable consort. She writes to him again, August 6th and August 25th, more matters of business, and again certifies him that my lord prince and the rest of his children are in good health. The queen was at Hampton Court at that time, where she appears chiefly to have resided during Henry's absence, though she was not always stationary there. One of her most interesting letters, that to the princess Mary on the subject of her translations of Erasmus's paraphrases, is dated from Hanworth.² In the same letter she acknowledges the present of a purse, which her learned step-daughter had made for her. “The queen's grace,” writes the countess of Rutland,³ “will be at Enfield on Friday come se'nnight, and remove to the prince's on Saturday next after, and come again on Monday. Wherefore, if you conveniently can, send me some fishes out of your parts against the same. It would come in good time,” continues

¹ Wood's Letters of Illustrious Ladies.

² See the memoir of queen Mary I.

³ To sir William Paston, her father: Wood's Letters.

her ladyship to her correspondent, "for here is small store." This letter is written at Hallywell on Shrove-Tuesday; so the fishes which the noble lady was anxious to obtain were indispensable to furnish forth Lenten fare for the queen's entertainment. Her ladyship adds, "that the court is merry." There is no date to the following very loving and dutiful letter from Katharine to Henry:—¹

"Although the distance of time and account of days neither is long nor many of your majesty's absence, yet the want of your presence, so much desired and beloved by me, maketh me that I cannot quietly pleasure in anything until I hear from your majesty. The time, therefore, seemeth to me very long, with a great desire to know how your highness hath done since your departing hence, whose prosperity and health I prefer and desire more than mine own. And whereas I know your majesty's absence is never without great need, yet love and affection compel me to desire your presence.

"Again, the same zeal and affection forceth me to be best content with that which is your will and pleasure. Thus love maketh me in all things to set apart mine own convenience and pleasure, and to embrace most joyfully his will and pleasure whom I love. God, the knower of secrets, can judge these words not to be written only with *ynke*, but most truly impressed on the heart. Much more I omit, lest it be thought I go about to praise myself, or crave a thank; which thing to do I mind nothing less, but a plain, simple relation of the love and zeal I bear your majesty, proceeding from the abundance of the heart. Wherein I must confess I desire no commendation, having such just occasion to do the same.

"I make like account with your majesty as I do with God for his benefits and gifts heaped upon me daily [*somewhat idolatrous this*], acknowledging myself a great debtor to him, not being able to recompense the least of his benefits; in which state I am certain and sure to die, yet I hope in his gracious acceptation of my good will. Even such confidence have I in your majesty's gentleness, knowing myself never to have done my duty as were requisite and meet for such a noble prince, at whose hands I have found and received so much love and goodness that with words I cannot express it.

"Lest I should be too tedious to your majesty, I finish this my scribbled letter, committing you to the governance of the Lord with long and prosperous life here, and after this life to enjoy the kingdom of his elect.

"From Greenwich, by your majesty's humble and obedient wife and servant,
"KATERYN THE QUEEN, K-P."

A grateful and a loyal spirit pervades this letter. That the queen had both felt and expressed much anxiety for the safety of her royal husband as well as for the success of his expedition, may be gathered from the following hypocritical passage in one of Wriothesley's letters to her majesty:—

¹ Strype's Mems., vol. ii. pp. 331, 332.

"God is able to strength his own against the devil, and therefore let not the queen's majesty in anywise trouble herself, for God shall turn all to the best; and sure we be that the king's majesty's person is out of all danger."¹

King Henry left England in anger with his young daughter the princess Elizabeth, who had incurred his displeasure so deeply that for a whole year he had neither permitted her to enter his presence nor to write to him.² The cause of offence, whatever it was, occurred very soon after his marriage with queen Katharine Parr, who appears to have taken a very friendly part towards her royal step-daughter. During the first month of her regency, Katharine succeeded in restoring Elizabeth to her absent sire's good graces by her epistolary intercessions in her behalf. Elizabeth wrote an eloquent letter, July 31, 1544, expressing her grateful sense of the queen's goodness in having shown much solicitude about her health, and also for having conveyed her dutiful messages to the king in all her letters, to whom she had not herself, at that time, ventured to write.³ Henry VIII., in his letter, dated September 8th, sends his blessing to all his children, which indicates that he had forgiven Elizabeth. He details with soldier-like plainness, to his fair regent at home, the auspicious progress of his campaign on the hostile shores of France. The manner in which he names his family to Katharine is very interesting, considering their relative positions, and implies much for the amiable conduct of the royal step-mother. Henry VIII., with all his faults, wrote very pleasant letters, and this is one of his best:—

"At the closing up of these our letters this day, the castle before named, with the dyke, is at our command, and not like to be recovered by the Frenchmen again (as we trust); not doubting, with God's grace, but that the castle and town shall shortly follow the same trade, for as this day, which is the eighth of September, we begin three batteries, and have three more going, besides one which hath done his execution in shaking and tearing off one of their greatest bulwarks. No more to you at this time, sweetheart, but for lack of time and great occupation of business, saving, we pray you, to give in our name our

¹ State-Paper MSS.

² Letter from the princess Elizabeth to queen Katharine Parr; Cotton. MSS.

³ Ibid.

heartly blessings to all our children, and recommendations to our cousin Marget,¹ and the rest of the ladies and gentlewomen, and to our counsell also.

“Written with the hand of your loving husband,

“HENRY R.”

During the absence of the king in France, queen Katharine and her royal step-children appear to have resided together as one family. In September, the young Edward and his sisters were under her careful guardianship at Oking, whence, in consequence of the pestilence then raging, she issued her mandate to the mayor and sheriffs—

“To make proclamation, that since, on account of the plague, great danger might arise to her, the prince, and the king’s other children, no person in whose house the plague had been, or who may have been with any infected person, or may have lived near any place where the infection had been, should go to court, or suffer any attendants on the court to enter his house where the infection is, under the queen’s indignation, and further punishment at her pleasure. From Okinge.”²

If aught but good had befallen the dearly prized heir of England during the absence of the king, a fearful reckoning would have awaited queen Katharine from her jealous and unreasonable lord on his return. No wonder that her anxiety for the safety of this precious trust impelled her to the use of arbitrary measures to preserve the royal household from the danger of infection.

Among the few existing documents connected with the regency of Katharine Parr, there is in the Cottonian collection an inedited letter to her council, headed “Katharine, queen-regente, K-P.,” in favor of her trusty and well-beloved servant Henry Webbe, gentleman-usher of her privy-chamber, requesting that the king’s grant of the nunnery and demesne of Holywell, which had been given to him at the surrender of the said nunnery, but only in part fulfilled, might be carried into effect, on the modified terms of allowing him to purchase that portion of the demesne which had been withheld from him. Her majesty concludes in the following persuasive strain :—

“We shall heartily desire and pray you to be favorable to him at this our earnest request; . . . and in declaring whereof, your kind and loving friend-

¹ His niece, the lady Margaret Douglas.

² See MS. Harl., 442, fol. 207.

King Henry VIII Presenting a Charter to the
Company of Barber-Surgeons

After the Painting by Holbein



Copyright, 1902, by George Barrie & Sons.

ship towards him effectually at the contemplation of these our letters, we shall gratefully accept it, and also thankfully remember it whensoever occasion shall serve us to do you pleasure.¹

"Given under our signet, at my lord the king's majesty's Honor of Hampton Court, the 23d of July, and the thirty-sixth of his highness's most noble reign."

Boulogne surrendered to the arms of Henry VIII. after a fierce siege: he made his triumphant entry into the town September 18th. His council in England, by command of the queen-regent, issued a general order, September 19th, "that a public thanksgiving should be offered up to Almighty God in all the towns and villages throughout England for the taking of Boulogne."² This was one of the last acts of queen Katharine's Parr's regency, for the king returned to England October 1st, finding it impossible to follow up his victorious career in France, because his Spanish allies had made a separate peace with Francis I. Katharine had governed with such prudence during the brief period in which the sovereign power of the crown had been confided to her administration as to leave no cause of complaint to either party.

It was, in all probability, after Henry's return from his victorious campaign in France that the interesting family group in her majesty's collection at Hampton Court, which forms the subject of the vignette to this volume, was painted by Hans Holbein. In this splendid picture, the design of which appears to have been intended to introduce all the members of the royal house of Tudor as a united family, Henry is enthroned beneath his canopy of state, with his consort at his left hand; but instead of Katharine Parr, a pale spectral resemblance of Jane Seymour occupies the queenly place at Henry's side. The attitude and expression of the dead queen's face and figure are as rigid and inanimate as if it had been the intention of the painter to represent her as a corpse newly taken from the grave, clad in royal robes, and seated in jewelled pomp among the living. There is little doubt but that the delineation was made from the wax effigy³ which was carried at her funeral. She

¹ MS. Cott., Vespas. F iii. fol. 17.

² Lingard.

³ See its description in the biography of Jane Seymour.

bears a mournful and almost startling likeness to her son prince Edward, a beautiful boy of eight years old, who leans on his father in a caressing attitude. With his right arm the king embraces his son, and his hand rests on his shoulder. The princesses Mary and Elizabeth are entering on opposite sides, as if to offer filial homage to the royal pair. The scene appears to be on the daïs of Wolsey's hall, with a view of one of the turrets through a side-window.

The picture is richly emblazoned with gold, and the costumes are peculiarly gorgeous and characteristic of the time. Henry's gown, of scarlet and gold brocade, is girded to his waist with a white satin sash, in which the hilt of his jewelled dagger is seen. The skirts of the gown are short, very full, and edged with gold. It is slashed on the breast, in five or six longitudinal rows, with puffs of white satin, confined with gold clasps. Over this he wears a magnificent collar of twisted pearls, with ruby medallions: a dalmatica with hanging sleeves, lined with sables, and edged with pearls, is thrown on his shoulder. His hat is of black velvet, adorned with pearls, and edged with the drooping white feather which is always characteristic of the costume of this monarch, and also of his son. Henry's hose and shoes are of white satin, and he wears on his breast a large medallion jewel, having the appearance of a watch. The prince wears a crimson velvet cap, jewelled and plumed, but his hair is so arranged as to have the unicturesque effect of a brown silk skull-cap, or a little bob-wig. He has a gold chain about his neck, and is dressed in a gown of dark-red damask, striped with gold and arranged in heavy plaits from the throat to the waist, where it is confined by a narrow belt. The skirt is full, and descends below the knees; his garment is much padded and stiffened; it has hanging sleeves, open to the shoulders, beneath which are very full sleeves of white satin, fantastically slashed with scarlet velvet. His hose and shoes are of scarlet. The faded, statue-like representation of his dead mother appears in the pointed cloth-of-gold hood, edged with pearls, precisely like that worn by Jane Seymour in life, but which

had been superseded by the pretty low French hood introduced by Katharine Howard, and adopted by Katharine Parr and her ladies. The two princesses are each represented in the same picture in the round hood, according to the prevailing fashion of their royal step-mother's court, of crimson velvet, edged with pearls, similar to that worn by queen Katharine Parr in the Strawberry hill miniature, only not surmounted with so rich a coronal band of jewels. This peculiarity of the costume marks the miniature of Katharine to have been painted at the same period as the Holbein family group, if not by the same artist. The hair of Jane Seymour and of the two princesses in this picture, as well as that of Katharine Parr in the Strawberry hill miniature, are all of the golden tint, which appears the universal color in all the Holbein portraits of the last three years of Henry VIII.'s reign,—a singular freak of nature, we should say, were it not well known that an imitation of the envied *chiome d'oro* was produced by the use of a bright yellow powder then in vogue. In some instances, folds of amber-colored velvet were worn by the elder ladies of Henry VIII.'s court, arranged like crossed bands of hair, so as to give a great appearance of breadth to the forehead under the low French hood.

In Holbein's family group, the princesses Mary and Elizabeth are dressed precisely alike, in kirtles or close-fitting gowns of rich crimson velvet, with long sleeves, finished at the hands with ruffles, and slashed with puffs of white satin from the wrists to the elbows. Over these they wear flowing robes of gold brocade, with hanging sleeves and sweeping trains. Their bodices fit tightly to the shape, and are cut rather low and square across the bust; they are edged with pearls. Both sisters wear double rows of pearls about their necks, supporting small ruby crosses. Elizabeth is a tall, full-proportioned, lovely girl, of womanly appearance. Mary is much smaller, and more delicate in form and features; she has the melancholy cast of countenance which sickness and early sorrow had rendered natural to her. In this painting contemporary portraits of four Tudor sovereigns—Henry VIII., Edward VI., queen Mary, and queen

Elizabeth, with the posthumous portrait of Henry's favorite queen, Jane Seymour—are assembled together. The circumstance of Katharine Parr permitting her deceased predecessor to take her place in the royal tableau is very remarkable. Few ladies, indeed, there are who would not have regarded the proposal of being thus superseded as a decided affront; but Katharine Parr was too generous to be jealous of a compliment offered to the dead queen, and far too prudent to oppose her royal spouse in any of his whims, however unreasonable.

That Katharine Parr was in the full enjoyment of Henry's favor at this period may be inferred from the consideration with which her kindred were treated, although she was herself cautious of giving cause of disgust to the old nobility or envy to the climbing courtiers by obtaining lavish grants of money and lands or a plurality of offices for her own family. Just such a meed of patronage was bestowed on her brother, her uncle, and her sister's husband as evinced her affection and the respect of the king for her relatives, but no more. Three of her young kinsmen, the Throckmortons, followed the banner of the sovereign in the French campaign. George was made prisoner, and a thousand pounds were demanded by the captor for his ransom, on account of his consanguinity to her majesty. After he had remained a year in captivity, the queen exerted herself for his redemption. The scene of his return, and the preferment that followed at court, is thus pleasantly described by his nephew in the Throckmorton MS. :—

“When first in presenoe-chamber he was come,
The king said to him, ‘Welcome to our grace!
I know thou lovest the alarum of a drum,
I see the marks of manhood in thy face.’
He, humbly kneeling, thanked his majesty
That he did see him set at liberty.

“And often, after that, the king would jest,
And call him ‘cousin’ in his merry mood,
Because therefor the Frenchmen had assest
His fine so high, which turned him to good.
His foes did say, in serving he was free,
And for reward the prince gave land in fee.

"Then none of us did unrewarded go :

I had a gift yearly worth fifty pound,
Which I record because thou shouldst know
I hate received benefits to drown ;
Besides, I had a stipend for my life,
Who shortly left the court and took a wife.

"And now, because the king and queen did use

By friendly signs their liking to display,
What men our company would then refuse ?
Our betters, then, with us did seek to stay.
For lo ! it is a path to dignity,
With Cæsar's friend to be in amity.

"Then Pemhroke and his wife, who sister was

Unto the queen, their kinsfolk friended much ;
And Parr, their brother, did them both surpass,
Who for to pleasure us did never grutch.
When these did call us 'cousin,' at each word
The other peers would friendly speech afford."

Soon after the king's return from France, the queen's uncle, Parr of Horton, resigned his office of lord chamberlain and his place in the council ; and though greatly urged by Henry and Katharine to continue to assist them with his experience and advice, he sighed for the quiet of private life, preferring, he said, to the honors that beset him in his niece's court, "the pious, peaceable, hospitable way of the country, where popularity affected him more than he sought it,"—no man being more beloved by the commonalty.¹ On the last day of the year 1544 the princess Elizabeth wrote from Ashridge to her royal step-mother a long complimentary letter, accompanying a most interesting New-year's gift, which is still in existence,—viz., an autograph translation from the Italian, beautifully written on vellum, in the form of a small quarto, entitled *The Glasse of the Synnefull Soule*, and addressed to *oure Moste Noble and Vertuous Queene Katerin, Elizabeth, her humble daughter, wisheth perpetuall felicitye and everlasting joye*. It is in the religious style of the time, and has occasional strains of true

¹ Fuller. In Horton church, Northampton, is a fine monument to William lord Parr, 1546, a recumbent statue in armor, in alabaster, with another of his lady, Mary Salusbury. He obtained this manor by his marriage.

eloquence. The cover, embroidered with blue and silver threads by the hands of the learned young princess, has the queen's initial letters K. R. gracefully introduced. Elizabeth in her epistle apologizes for all defects, and says that "she trusts its imperfections will all be smoothed and polished by the file of her highness's excellent wit and godly learning in the reading of it; and after it shall have passed through her hands, it will come forth as it were in a new form." Thus it appears that Katharine Parr was an Italian as well as a classic scholar and an accomplished mistress of her own language, and that she still continued to perform the office of preceptress *con amore* to Elizabeth.

KATHARINE PARR,

SIXTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER II.

Difficult position of queen Katharine—Her zeal for the Scriptures—Patronage of Coverdale—Preserves the university of Cambridge from sequestration—Her attentions to the king—Prince Edward's letter to her—Wriothesley and Gardiner's jealousy of the queen's influence—Her patronage of Anne Askew denounced—Plot against the queen—Henry takes umbrage at Katharine's sincerity—Complains of her to Gardiner—Articles of impeachment framed—Katharine discovers the plot—Her terror and dangerous illness—Henry visits her—Her prudent conduct—Reconciliation with the king—His anger against her enemies—King's illness and death—Katharine prayed for as queen-dowager—King Edward's letter of condolence—King Henry's funeral—Queen Katharine's residence at Chelsea—Sir Thomas Seymour renews his suit—Their correspondence and meetings—Privately married—Katharine's jewels detained by Somerset—Seymour's freedom with the princess Elizabeth—Katharine's displeasure—Birth of a daughter—Her dangerous illness—Her death and funeral—Lady Jane Gray chief mourner—Her epitaph—Seymour's attainder and execution—Destitution of queen Katharine's infant—Sent to the duchess of Suffolk—Her letters—Traditions—Relics of queen Katharine Parr—Exhumation of her remains—Present state of her grave.

ONE great trial—we may add peril, of Katharine Parr's queenly life, was the frequent presence of her former lover, sir Thomas Seymour, who was one of the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber. The contrast between him and her royal lord must have been painfully apparent, at times, to Katharine. She was surrounded with invidious spies withal, who would have been only too happy to be able to report a word, a look, or even a sigh, to the king, as evidence of her preference for the handsome Seymour; but the high principles and consummate prudence of the queen carried her triumphantly through an ordeal which some princesses might not have passed without loss of life and fame. The conduct of Seymour was rash, inconsistent, and selfish. He

was the most restless, and at the same time the most blundering, of intriguers. He had shared in the spoils of the sequestered abbeys, though in a lesser degree than his brother the earl of Hertford, and was one of those who would have tempted the king to appropriate the revenues of the bishops. It was, however, necessary to find some cause of complaint with that body; and, according to Fox, he began at the fountain-head.

"Sir Thomas Seymour," says our author, "who waited on the king, not much favoring Cranmer, accused him of wasting his revenues, and retrenching all hospitality, in order to gather riches for his wife and children."¹ One day, when sir Thomas Seymour was holding the basin for the king to wash before going to dinner, his majesty said to him, "Go you out of hand to my lord of Canterbury, and bid him be with me at two o'clock, and fail not." When Seymour went to Lambeth, he found the great hall set out for dinner, and the usual hospitality going forward; and being invited by Cranmer to dine, at which meal all proceeded with the usual state of the former archbishops, he perceived that he had been sent on purpose, and after delivering his message, went back to the king in great haste. "Ho!" said Henry, when he saw him, "dined you not with my lord of Canterbury?" Sir Thomas Seymour spied a portentous cloud on the royal brow, as he replied, "That I did, your majesty, and he will be with your highness forthwith;" then, falling on his knees, he added, "I beseech your majesty to pardon me, for I have of late told you an untruth concerning my lord of Canterbury's housekeeping. But I will never henceforth believe the knave which did put that vain tale in my head, for never did I see in my life so honorable a hall set in the realm, except your majesty's, or so well furnished, according to each degree, and himself also most honorably served."—"Ah! sir," quoth the king, "have you now spied the truth? But I perceive which way the wind bloweth. There are a sort of you whom I have liberally given of suppressed monasteries, which, as you have lightly gotten, so you have unthriftilly spent,—

¹ Fox; folio ed., book ii. 524, 525.

some at dice,¹ other some in gay apparel, and otherways worse, I fear; and now all is gone, you would fain have me make another *chevissance* [gratuity] of the bishop's lands to satisfy your greedy appetites."

Far different from this worldly, self-seeking spirit was the disinterested devotion of the queen to the cause of the Reformation. With nothing to gain, and everything to lose by her religion, she courageously maintained the opinions to which she had become a convert; and, in her zeal for the translation of the holy Scriptures, left no means untried for the accomplishment of that good work. She appointed Miles Coverdale to the office of her almoner,² and rendered him every assistance in his labor of love. The learned Nicholas Udall, master of Eton school, was employed by Katharine Parr to edit the translations of Erasmus's Paraphrases on the four Gospels; in the labor of which the princess Mary was induced, by her royal step-mother, to take an active share. The queen thus addresses the princess Mary on the expediency of appending her name to her translation:—

"I beseech you to send me this beautiful and *useful* work, when corrected by Mallet, or some other of your household; and at the same time let me know whether it shall be published under your own name, or anonymously? In my own opinion, you will not do justice to a work in which you have taken such infinite pains for the public (and would have still continued to do so, as is well known, had your health permitted it), if you refuse to let it descend to posterity under the sanction of your name. For, since everybody is aware what fatigue you have undergone in its accomplishment, I do not see why you should refuse the praise that all will deservedly offer you in return."³

¹ The king himself lost 300*l.* at a sitting with Edward Seymour, elder brother to this man. The Seymours seem the greatest gamblers at court.—See Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., many items.

² Miles Coverdale was an Augustinian monk, of Danish family, converted to the Protestant faith. He was patronized by Cromwell, and appointed by Katharine Parr as her almoner, and he was such when she died. He was bishop of Exeter, but ejected from his see by queen Mary, who, by an act of council in 1554, allowed him to pass to Denmark, with two servants and bag and baggage. He returned to England during Elizabeth's reign, but refused to assume his bishopric, and died peaceably at the age of eighty-one, and was buried in St. Bartholomew's church. A search for his bones took place August, 1840; his coffin was found, and transferred to St. Magnus's church, London bridge, his original cure.

³ Translated by sir F. Madden from the original Latin. Katharine Parr's

The first edition of these paraphrases (of which so important a use was afterwards made by Cranmer and Somerset) was published, according to Strype, in 1545, at the sole expense of queen Katharine Parr. In his dedication to his royal patroness, Udall remarks "on the great number of noble women at that time in England given to the study of devout science and of strange tongues. It was a common thing," he quaintly adds, "to see young virgins so nouzled and trained in the study of letters that they willingly set all other pastimes at nought for learning's sake. It was now no news at all to see queens and ladies of most high estate and progeny, instead of courtly dalliance, to embrace virtuous exercises, reading and writing, and with most earnest study, early and late, to apply themselves to the acquiring of knowledge." Fortunately for Katharine Parr, and those fair and gentle students who were encouraged by the example of that learned queen to seek the paths of knowledge, they flourished in days when the acquirements of ladies were regarded as their glory, not their reproach. Learning in women was then considered next unto holiness; and the cultivation of the female mind was hailed by the wise, the good, the noble of England as a proof of the increasing refinement of the land. In later centuries, invidious ignorance has succeeded in flinging the brand of vulgar opprobrium on such women as sir Thomas More, Erasmus, Udall, and Ascham all but deified. Margaret Roper, Katharine Parr, and the divine lady Jane Gray would inevitably have been stigmatized as *blue-stockings* if they had lived in the nineteenth instead of the sixteenth century.

Queen Katharine and her royal step-daughter, the lady Mary, honored sir William and lady Petre by answering at the baptismal font for their infant daughter, to whom the queen gave her own name Katharine.¹ Wriothesley, the then lord chancellor, was the godfather. This man was the queen's deadly but undeclared foe, and a few months later made an attempt to poison the king's mind against her.

letter is dated from Hanworth, September 20, 1544. The original is in MS. Cottonian, Faustina, F 111.

¹ April, 1545. Old family register, in possession of the lord Petre.

When Katharine Parr was first called to the unenviable distinction of sharing the throne of Henry VIII., the poverty of the crown precluded the king from indulging his love of pomp and pageantry in any of the public fêtes and rejoicings which had been so frequent in the first thirty years of his reign. The expense of a coronation for the new queen was out of the question; and, though she was dowered in the same proportion as her predecessors had been, it must have been a source of comfort to Katharine that she enjoyed a fine income as the widow of lord Borough and lord Latimer, independently of her royal allowance as queen-consort of England. The expenses of the queen's breakfast, on an average calculation, amounted only to 70*l.* per annum. It was commanded by the lord great-master at Westminster, in the month of June, 35th Henry VIII., that the queen's maids should daily have a chine of beef served to them for their breakfast.¹

Henry's pecuniary distresses had led him to the fallacious expedient of raising the nominal value of the currency of the realm, and afterwards of issuing a fresh coinage, in which the proportion of alloy exceeded that of the silver. This purblind proceeding gave the death-blow to trade by ruining the national credit, and involved himself, his subjects, and successors in tenfold difficulties.² In the autumn of 1545, Henry claimed the assistance of parliament; but the subsidy granted not satisfying the rapacious and needy sovereign, the revenues of all the hospitals and colleges in England were placed at his disposal by the time-serving and venal legislators of whom it was composed.³ The university of Cambridge, dreading the spoliation with which it was threatened, implored the protection of their learned queen.⁴ Katharine, who was not forgetful of the affection and respect which had been ever manifested for her person and character by this erudite body, exerted her utmost influence with her royal husband to avert the storm that impended over that ancient nursery of learning and piety.

¹ Ordinances for the king's household, p. 375. Additions to the ordinances of Eltham, p. 208.

² Herbert. Stowe.

³ Herbert. Hall.

⁴ Strype.

The letter in which her majesty informs the members of the university of the success of her intercession with the king in their behalf is exceedingly curious; and the advice she offers, as to the nature of their studies, is equally creditable to her head and heart:—

LETTER FROM QUEEN KATHARINE PARR.¹

"To our right trusty, dear, and well-beloved the Chancellor and Vice-chancellor of my lord the King's majesty's University of Cambridge, and to the whole said university there.

"Your letters I have received, presented on all your behalfs by Mr. Dr. Smythe, your discreet and learned advocate.² And as they be *Latinly* written, which is *signyfyed* unto me by those that be learned in the Latin tongue, so [I know] you could have uttered your desires and opinions familiarly in your vulgar tongue, aptest for my intelligence, albeit you seem to have conceived, rather partially than truly, a favorable estimation both of my going forward and dedication to learning, which to advance, or at least conserve, your letters move me."

This passage must not be considered by the reader as any contradiction of her attainments as a Latin scholar, because, notwithstanding her denial of learning, the queen meant not to be taken at her word as ignorant of the language in which the university had addressed her, for she uses, in the course of the letter, a very apt Latin quotation.

"You show me how agreeable it is to me, being in this worldly estate, not only for mine own part to be studious, but also a maintainer and cherisher of the learned state, bearing me in hand [insisting] that I am endowed and perfected with those qualities which *ought to be in a person of my station.*

"Truly this your discreet and politic document I as thankfully accept as you desire that I should embrace it. And forasmuch (as I do hear) all kind of learning doth flourish among you in this age as it did amongst the Greeks at Athens long ago, I desire you all not so to hunger for the exquisite knowledge of profane learning that it may be thought that the Greek university was but transposed or now in England revived, *forgetting our Christianity*, since their excellency did only attain to moral and natural things; but rather, I gently exhort you to study and apply those doctrines as means and apt degrees to the attaining and setting forth Christ's reverent and sacred doctrine, that it may not be laid against you in evidence, at the tribunal of God, how you were ashamed of Christ's doctrine; for this *Latin lesson*³ I am taught to say of St.

¹ Quoted by Strype: to be found at length in Statutes of Cambridge, by H. J. Heywood, F.R.S., vol. i. p. 211.

² The university of Cambridge addressed their letters to queen Katharine Parr by Dr. Smith, afterwards sir Thomas Smith, the learned secretary to Edward VI.

³ Here the queen displays, much in the style of her daughter-in-law Elizabeth, the learning she has so elaborately disclaimed.

Paul, *Non me pudet evangelii*, to the sincere setting forth whereof (I trust) universally in all your vocations and ministries you will apply, and conform your sundry gifts, arts, and studies in such end and sort, that Cambridge may be accounted rather an university of divine philosophy than of natural and moral, as Athens was. Upon the confidence of which your accomplishment of my expectation, zeal, and request, I (according to your desires) have attempted my lord the king for the establishment of your livelihood and possessions, in which (notwithstanding his majesty's property and interest, through the consent of the high court of parliament) his highness, being such a patron to good learning, doth tender you so much that he would rather advance learning and erect new occasion thereof, than confound your ancient and godly institutions; so that such learning may hereafter ascribe her very original whole conversation to our sovereign lord the king, her only defence and worthy ornament, the prosperous estate and princely government of whom long to preserve, I doubt not but every one of you will in the daily invocation call upon Him, who alone and only can dispose to every creature.

"Scribbled with the rude hand of her that prayeth to the Lord and immortal God to send you all prosperous success in godly learning and knowledge. From my lord the king's majesty's manor of Greenwich, the 26 Feb.

"KATHARINE THE QUEEN, K-P." ¹

The triumph which Katharine Parr's virtuous influence obtained, in this instance, over the sordid passions of Henry and his greedy ministers ought to endear the name of the royal patroness of learning to every mind capable of appreciating her magnanimity and moral courage. The beauty, the talents, and rare acquirements of Katharine Parr, together with the delicate tact which taught her how to make the most of these advantages, enabled her to retain her empire over the fickle heart of Henry for a longer period than the fairest and most brilliant of her predecessors. But these charms were not the most powerful talismans with which the queen won her influence. It was her domestic virtues, her patience, her endearing manners, that rendered her indispensable to the irritable and diseased voluptuary, who was now paying the severe penalty of bodily tortures and mental disquiet for the excesses of his former life. Henry had grown so corpulent and unwieldy in person that he was incapable of taking the slightest exercise, much less of recreating himself with the invigorating field-sports and boisterous pastimes in which he had formerly delighted. The days had come unexpectedly upon him in which he had no

¹ MS. Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, 206. This letter is quoted by Strype.

pleasure. His body was so swollen and enfeebled by dropsy that he could not be moved to an upper chamber without the aid of machinery. Hitherto, the excitement of playing the leading part in the public drama of royal pomp and pageantry had been one of the principal objects of his life; deprived of this, and with the records of an evil conscience to dwell upon in the weary hours of pain, his irascibility and impatience would have goaded him to frenzy but for the soothing gentleness and tender attentions of his amiable consort. Katharine was the most skilful and patient of nurses, and shrank not from any office, however humble, whereby she could afford mitigation to the sufferings of her royal husband. It is recorded of her that she would remain for hours on her knees beside him, applying fomentations and other palliatives to his ulcerated leg, which he would not permit any one to dress but her. She had already served an apprenticeship to the infirmities of sickness, in her attendance on the death-beds of her two previous husbands, and had doubtless acquired the art of adapting herself to the humors of male invalids. A royally born lady might have been of little comfort to Henry in the days of his infirmity, but Katharine Parr had been educated in the school of domestic life, and was perfect in the practice of its virtues and its duties. She sought to charm the *ennui* which oppressed the once magnificent and active sovereign in the unwelcome quiet of his sick-chamber, by inducing him to unite with her in directing the studies and watching the hopeful promise of his beloved heir, prince Edward. The following letter, addressed to Katharine by her royal step-son, bears witness to the maternal kindness of the queen and the affection of the precocious student:—

PRINCE EDWARD TO KATHARINE PARR.

“MOST HONORABLE AND ENTIRELY BELOVED MOTHER:—

“I have me most humbly recommended to your grace with like thanks, both for that your grace did accept so gently my simple and rude letters, and also that it pleased your grace so gently to vouchsafe to direct unto me your loving and tender letters, which do give me much comfort and encouragement to go forward in such things, wherein your grace beareth me on hand, that I am

already entered. I pray God I may be able to satisfy the good expectation of the king's majesty, my father, and of your grace, whom God have ever in his most blessed keeping!

"Your loving son,

"E. Prince."

There is extant a Latin and a French letter, addressed to the queen in the same filial style.

The arrival of the plenipotentiaries to negotiate a peace between England and France, in the commencement of the year 1546, caused the last gleam of royal festivity and splendor that was ever to enliven the court of Henry VIII. Claude d'Annebaut, the admiral who had a few months previously attempted a hostile descent on the Isle of Wight, and attacked the English fleet, was the ambassador-extraordinary on this occasion. He was received with great pomp at Greenwich, where he landed, and on Hounslow Heath he was met by a numerous cavalcade of nobles, knights, and gentlemen in king Henry's service, headed by the young heir of England, prince Edward, who, though only in his ninth year, was mounted on a charger, and performed his part in the pageant by welcoming the admiral and his suite in the most graceful and engaging manner. Annebaut embraced and kissed the princely boy, and all the French nobles were loud in their commendations of the beauty and gallant bearing of this child of early promise. Prince Edward then conducted the embassy to Hampton Court, where, for ten days, they were feasted and entertained with great magnificence by the king and queen. Henry, on this occasion, presented Katharine Parr with many jewels, of great value, that she might appear with suitable *éclat*, as his consort, to the plenipotentiaries of France. He also provided new and costly hangings and furniture for her apartments, as well as plate, which she naturally regarded as her own property; but a long and vexatious litigation was instituted with regard to these gifts after the death of the king, as will be shown in its proper place.

The increasing influence of Katharine with king Henry, and the ascendancy she was acquiring over the opening

mind of the future sovereign, were watched with jealous alarm by the party most inimical to the doctrines of the Reformation. Wriothesley, the lord chancellor, who had been the base suggester to Henry VIII. of a breach of faith to Anne of Cleves, and afterwards pursued that monarch's fifth unhappy queen with the zest of a bloodhound¹ till her young head was laid upon the block, waited but for a suitable opportunity for effecting the fall of Katharine Parr. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was his confederate in this intention, but so blameless was the conduct, so irreproachable the manners, of the queen, that, as in the case of Daniel, it was impossible for her deadliest foe to find an occasion against her, except in the matter of her religious opinions. In these she was opposed to Henry's arbitrary notions, who was endeavoring to erect the dogma of his own infallibility on the ruins of papacy. Every dissent from his decisions in points of faith had been visited with the most terrible penalties. In his last speech to parliament he had bitterly complained of the divisions in religion that distracted his realm, for which he "partly blamed the priests, some of whom," he sarcastically observed, "were so stiff in their old *mumpsimus*,² and others so busy with their new *sumpsimus*, that, instead of preaching the word of God, they were employed in railing at each other;" and partly the fault of the laity, whose delight it was to censure the proceedings of their bishops, priests, and preachers. If you know," continued the royal polemic, "that any preach perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our council, or to us, to whom is committed by God authority to reform and order such cases and behaviors, and be not judges yourselves of your own fantastical opinions and vain expositions. And, although you be permitted to read holy Scriptures, and to have the word of God in your

¹ See the biographies of Anne of Cleves and Katharine Howard.

² The origin of this expression seems to have arisen in the following circumstance:—An old priest always read in his portass (hreviary) *mumpsimus*, *Domine*, for *sumpsimus*; whereof, when he was admonished, he said "that he now had used *mumpsimus* for thirty years, and would not leave his old '*mumpsimus*' for their new '*sumpsimus*.'"—Master Pace, de Fructu Doctrinæ, quoted by Camden.—See his Remains, p. 243.

³ Hall.

mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed you so to do only to inform your conscience, your children, and families, and not to dispute, and to make Scripture a railing and taunting stock against priests and preachers. I am very sorry to know and hear how irreverently that precious jewel the word of God is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every ale-house and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same.”¹

This speech was a prelude to the rigorous enforcement of the six articles. The most interesting victim of the fiery persecution that ensued, in the spring and summer of 1546, was the young, beautiful, and learned Anne Askew. She was a lady of honorable birth and ancient lineage, and having become a convert to the new faith, was for that cause violently driven from her home by her husband, Mr. Kyme, of Lincolnshire. She then resumed her maiden name, and devoted herself to the promulgation of the religious opinions she had embraced. It was soon known that the queen's sister, lady Herbert, the duchess of Suffolk, and other great ladies of the court, countenanced the fair gospelier; nay, more,—that the queen herself had received books from her, in the presence of lady Herbert, lady Tyrwhitt, and the youthful lady Jane Gray, which might bring her majesty under the penalty of the statute against reading heretical works. The religious opinions of a young and beautiful woman might, perhaps, have been overlooked by men with whom religion was a matter of party, not conscience; but the supposed connection of Anne Askew with the queen caused her to be singled out for the purpose of terrifying or torturing her into confessions that might furnish a charge of heresy or treason against her royal mistress. The unexpected firmness of the Christian heroine baffled this design; she endured the utmost inflictions of Wriothlesley's vindictive fury without permitting a syllable to pass her lips that might be rendered subservient to this purpose.

Anne Askew had been supported in prison by money which had been conveyed to her, from time to time, by

¹ Journals of Parliament.

persons supposed to be in the service of the ladies of the queen's bedchamber; and the lord chancellor's inquisitorial cruelty was especially exercised in his attempts to extort from the hapless recipient of this charity the names of her secret friends.¹ It is well known that when sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant of the Tower, endeavored by his directions to the jailer to modify the ferocious, and it seems illegal, requisition of chancellor Wriothsley to inflict severer agonies on the tender, but unshrinking victim, his lordship threw off his gown, and, with the assistance of his pitiless accomplice Rich, worked the rack till, to use Anne's own words, they well-nigh plucked her joints asunder. When the lieutenant of the Tower found his authority thus superseded, he promptly took boat, and, proceeding to the king, indignantly related to him the disgusting scene he had just witnessed. Henry affected to express great displeasure that a female should have been exposed to such barbarity, but he neither punished the perpetrators of the outrage, nor interposed his authority to preserve Anne Askew from a fiery death. Indeed, if the contemporary author quoted by Speed is to be credited, "Henry had himself ordered Anne to be stretched on the rack, being exasperated against her for having brought prohibited books into his palace, and imbued his queen and his nieces, Suffolk's daughters, with her doctrine."

The terrible sentence which consigned the dislocated frame of the young and lovely Anne Askew a living prey to the flames shook not the lofty self-devotion of the victim.² Several persons professing the reformed doctrine were condemned to die at the same time, among whom were two gentlemen of the royal household, William Morice, the king's gentleman usher, and sir George Blagge, of the privy-chamber. The following touching particulars of their last meeting have been recorded by a survivor:—"I, being alive," narrates John Loud (tutor to sir Robert Southwell, and a

¹ Fox's Martyrology.

² In the letter of Otwell Johnson, a merchant of London, dated July 2, 1546, the writer notices the report that Anne Askew was racked after her condemnation.—Ellis's Letters, second series, vol. ii. p. 177.

gentleman of Lincoln's inn), "must needs confess of her departed to the Lord." There was a sad party of victims and their undaunted friends gathered in the little parlor by Newgate. Sir George Blagge was with Lascells (a gentleman of a right worshipful house in Nottinghamshire, at Gatford, near Worksop) the day before his execution, and that of Anne Askew, "who had," says the narrator, "an angel's countenance and a smiling face." Lascells was in the little parlor by Newgate; "he mounted up in the window-seat, and there sat. He was merry and cheerful in the Lord, and sir George Blagge sat by his side: one Belenian, a priest, likewise burnt, was there. Three of the Throckmortons were present, sir Nicholas being one of them. By the same token, a person unknown to me said, 'Ye are all marked men that come to them. Take heed to your lives.'"¹

The Throckmortons were, be it remembered, the near kinsmen of the queen, and confidential members of her household. They were her *élèves*, and converts withal, to the faith of which she was the nursing-mother. Undismayed by the warning they had received when they came to comfort Anne Askew and her fellow-captives in prison, these heroic brethren ventured to approach her when she was borne to her funeral pile in Smithfield, for the purpose of offering her sympathy and encouragement; but they were again warned "that they were marked men," and compelled to withdraw.² In a far different spirit came Wriothesley, Russell, and others of the ruthless clique, to witness the last act of the tragedy,³ and to tempt the weakness of woman's nature by offering her the king's pardon on condition of her recanting. She treated the proposal with the scorn it merited, and her fearless demeanor encouraged and strengthened the resolution of the three men who shared with her the crown of martyrdom. The male victims were not subjected to torture. They appear to have suffered on matters

¹ Strype, *Mems.*, p. 599.

² Aikin's *Elizabeth*.

³ This amiable junta were seated on a bench by St. Bartholomew's church, and expressed some alarm lest their persons should be endangered by the gunpowder among the fagots exploding. Russell reassured his colleagues, by informing them that it was only intended for the condemned prisoners.

of faith, unconnected with politics. Anne Askew may be regarded as a sacrifice to the malignity of the party who failed in making her an instrument in their machinations against the queen.

The terror and anguish which must have oppressed the heart of the queen at this dreadful period may be imagined. Not only was she unable to avert the fate of the generous Anne Askew and the other Protestant martyrs, but she was herself, with some of her nearest and dearest connections, on the verge of the like peril. Sir George Blagge, who was involved in the same condemnation with Anne Askew and those who suffered with her, was a great favorite with the king, who was wont to honor him, in moments of familiarity, with the endearing appellation of his 'pig.' Henry does not appear to have been aware of Blagge's arrest till informed of his condemnation. He then sent for Wriothesley, and rated him "for coming so near him, even to his privy-chamber," and commanded him to draw out a pardon. Blagge, on his release, flew to thank his master, who, seeing him, cried out, "Ah! my pig, are you here safe again?" "Yes, sire," said he, "and if your majesty had not been better than your bishops, your pig had been *roasted* ere this time."¹ Notwithstanding this rebuff, Wriothesley and his coadjutors presumed to come somewhat nearer to the king than an attack on members of his household, for they struck at the wife of his bosom.

It was shrewdly observed by a contemporary, "that Gardiner had bent his bow to bring down some of the head deer." Victims of less distinguished note were destined first to fall, but it was for the purpose of compassing the disgrace and death of the queen that the fires of persecution had been rekindled, Wriothesley and Gardiner having masked an iniquitous political intrigue under the name of religion. The queen's sister, lady Herbert, had been secretly denounced to Henry as an active instrument in controverting his edict touching heretical works. This was a subtle prelude for an attack upon the queen herself; for when Henry had reason to suppose she received and read books

¹ Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley. Tytler.

forbidden by his royal statutes, he was prepared to take every difference in opinion, expressed or insinuated by her, in the light not only of heresy, but treason.

Henry's anger was always the most deadly and dangerous when he brooded over an offence in silence. Queen Katharine had been accustomed, in their hours of domestic privacy, to converse with him on theological subjects, in which he took great delight. The points of difference in their opinions, and the ready wit and eloquence with which the queen maintained her side of the question, gave piquancy to these discussions. Henry was, at first, amused and interested; but controversies between husband and wife are dangerous pastimes to the weaker vessel, especially if she chance to have the best of the argument. On subjects of less importance to his eternal welfare, Katharine might possibly have had tact enough to leave the victory to her lord; but laboring as she saw him under a complication of incurable maladies, and loaded with a yet more fearful weight of unrepented crimes, she must have been anxious to awaken him to a sense of his accountability to that Almighty Judge at whose tribunal it was evident he must soon appear.

With the exception of his murdered tutor, Fisher, Henry's spiritual advisers, whether Catholics or Reformers, had all been false to their trust. They had flattered his worst passions, and lulled his guilty conscience by crying "Peace, peace! when there was no peace." Katharine Parr was, perhaps, the only person, for the last ten years, who had had the moral courage to speak, even in a modified manner, the language of truth in his presence. Henry, who was neither Catholic nor Protestant, had a '*sumpsimus*' of his own, which he wished to render the national rule of faith, and was, at last, exceedingly displeased that his queen should presume to doubt the infallibility of his opinions. One day she ventured, in the presence of Gardiner, to remonstrate with him on the proclamation he had recently put forth forbidding the use of a translation of the Scriptures, which he had previously licensed. This was at a time when his constitutional irascibility was aggravated by

a painful inflammation of his ulcerated leg, which confined him to his chamber. Perhaps Katharine, in her zeal for the diffusion of the truths of holy writ, pressed the matter too closely, for the king showed tokens of mislike, and cut the matter short. The queen made a few pleasant observations on other subjects and withdrew. Henry's suppressed choler broke out as soon as she had left the room. "A good hearing it is," said he, "when women become such clerks; and much to my comfort to come, in mine old age, to be taught by my wife!"¹

Gardiner, who was present, availed himself of this scornful sally to insinuate things against her majesty, which a few days before he durst not, for his life, have breathed to the king. "For," says a contemporary author, "never handmaid sought more to please her mistress than she to please his humor; and she was of singular beauty, favor, and comely personage, wherein the king was greatly delighted. But Gardiner bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor Wriothesley, and others of the king's privy-chamber, practised her death, that they might the better stop the passage of the gospel; yet they durst not speak to the king touching her, because they saw he loved her so well."² But now that an offence had been given to the royal ego-tist's self-idolatry, he was ready to listen to anything that could be said in disparagement of his dutiful and conscientious wife: her tender nursing, her unremitting attentions to his comfort, together with her amiable and affectionate conduct to his children, were all forgotten. Gardiner flattered him to the top of his bent on his theological knowledge and judgment, in which he declared "that his majesty excelled the princes of that and every other age, as well as all the professed doctors of divinity, insomuch that it was unseemly for any of his subjects to argue with him so malapertly as the queen had just done. That it was grievous for any of his counsellors to hear it done, since those who were so bold in words would not scruple to proceed to acts of disobedience;" adding, "that he could make great discoveries if he were not deterred by the queen's powerful

¹ Fox. Herbert. Lingard.

² Fox.

faction. In short, he crept so far into the king at that time," says Fox, "and he and his fellows so filled Henry's mistrustful mind with fears, that he gave them warrant to consult together about drawing of articles against the queen, wherein her life might be touched. They thought it best to begin with such ladies as she most esteemed, and were privy to all her doing,—as the lady Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke, her sister; the lady Jane, who was her first cousin; and the lady Tyrwhitt,¹ all of her privy-chamber; and to accuse them of the six articles, and to search their closets and coffers, that they might find somewhat to charge the queen; who, if that were the case, should be taken and carried by night in a barge to the Tower, of which advice the king was made privy by Gardiner. This purpose was so finely handled that it grew within few days of the time appointed, and the poor queen suspected nothing, but, after her accustomed manner, visited the king, still to deal with him touching religion as before."

At this momentous crisis, when the life of the queen might be said to hang on a balance so fearfully poised that the descent of a feather would have given it a fatal turn, the bill of articles that had been framed against her, together with the mandate for her arrest, were dropped by Wriothesley from his bosom in the gallery at Whitehall, after the royal signature of the king had been affixed. Fortunately it happened that it was picked up by one of the attendants of the queen, and instantly conveyed to her majesty,² whose sweetness of temper and gracious demeanor had endeared her to all her household. It is impossible but that shuddering recollections of the fell decree which doomed Henry's second consort, Anne Boleyn, to be either burned or beheaded, at the king's pleasure, and of the summary proceedings by which his last queen, Katharine Howard, was hurried to the block, without even the ceremony of a trial, must have pressed upon her mind, as she glanced at these appalling documents. Her virtue, it is true, could not be impugned as theirs had been, but she had dis-

¹ Her step-daughter.

² Fox's Acts and Monuments. Speed. Tytler.

appointed the expectation, so confidently stated by the king in the act for settling the succession to the crown, "that their union might be blessed with offspring." In that very act there was an ominous clause (in case of failure of issue by her), which secured a precedency over his daughters "to the children he *might* have by any *other* queens." She had been Henry's wife three years, and was still childless; and as she had not brought a family to either of her former husbands, the reproach of barrenness might, not unreasonably, be ascribed to her by the king. It was doubtless to the full as great a crime, in his sight, as her heresy, and it is not improbable that it was even cited in the list of her misdemeanors, as the untimely death of Katharine of Aragon's sons had been impiously construed into evidences that the marriage was displeasing in the sight of God, when Henry was desirous of another wife.

When Katharine Parr became aware, from the perusal of the paper so providentially brought to her, that a bill for her attainder was prepared, and saw that the king had treacherously given his sanction to the machinations of her foes, she concluded that she was to be added to the list of his conjugal decapitations, and fell into an hysterical agony.¹ She occupied an apartment contiguous to that of the sick and froward monarch, and, as she fell from one fit into another, her shrieks and cries reached his ears. Finding they continued for many hours, either moved with pity, or, as Dr. Lingard shrewdly suggests, "incommoded by the noise," he sent to inquire what was the matter. Katharine's physician, Dr. Wendy, having penetrated the cause of her majesty's indisposition, informed the royal messenger "that the queen was dangerously ill, and that it appeared that her sickness was caused by distress of mind."² When the king heard this, he was either moved with unwonted feelings of compunction, or reminded, by his own increasing infirmities, which had confined him for the last two days to his bed, of her unrivalled skill as a nurse; and feeling, perhaps for the first time, how much he should miss her in that capacity if death deprived him of her services,

¹ Fox. Speed. Herbert. Lingard.

² Tytler.

he determined to pay her a visit. This act of royal condescension was the more remarkable because it was attended with great personal inconvenience to himself, for he was carried in a chair into queen Katharine's apartment, being at that time unable to walk.¹ He found her heavy and melancholy, and apparently at the point of death, at which he evinced much sympathy, as if really alarmed at the idea of losing her. Perhaps he had not, till then, discovered that she was dearer to him than her fairer and more passionately but briefly loved predecessors, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard. The hysterical agonies of those unhappy ladies had produced no such relentings in his vindictive breast, though they had been duly reported to him; but then, to be sure, he was out of hearing of their cries. Katharine Parr had, besides, been twice married before, and, being a woman of great sense and observation, had acquired more experience in adapting herself to the humor of a froward lord than either the gay, reckless coquette Anne Boleyn, or the young, unlettered Howard. On this occasion she testified a proper degree of gratitude for the honor of his visit, "which," she assured him, "had greatly revived and rejoiced her." She also adroitly offered an opening for an explanation of the cause of Henry's displeasure, by expressing herself much distressed at having seen so little of his majesty of late, adding, that her uneasiness at this was increased by her apprehensions of having been so unhappy as to have given him some unintentional offence.² Henry replied only with gracious and encouraging expressions of his good-will. During the rest of this critical interview, Katharine behaved in so humble and endearing a manner, and so completely adapted herself to the humor of her imperious lord, that, in the excitement caused by the reaction of his feelings, he betrayed to her physician the secret of the plot against her life. The physician being both a good and a prudent person, acted as a mediator with his sovereign in the first instance, and is said to have suggested to the queen the proper means of effecting a reconciliation.³

¹ Fox.² Ibid. Herbert. Speed.³ Soames's Hist. Tytler.

The next evening the queen found herself well enough to return the king's visit in his bedchamber. She came attended by her sister lady Herbert, and the king's young niece, lady Jane Gray,¹ who carried the candles before her majesty. Henry welcomed her very courteously, and appeared to take her attention in good part, but presently turned the conversation to the old subject of controversy, for the purpose of beguiling her into an argument. Katharine adroitly avoided the snare, by observing "that she was but a woman, accompanied with all the imperfections natural to the weakness of her sex; therefore, in all matters of doubt and difficulty she must refer herself to his majesty's better judgment, as to her lord and head; for so God hath appointed you," continued she, "as the supreme head of us all, and of you, next unto God, will I ever learn." "Not so, by St. Mary!" said the king. "Ye are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, and not to be instructed of us, as oftentime we have seen."—"Indeed," replied the queen, "if your majesty have so conceived, my meaning has been mistaken, for I have always held it preposterous for a woman to instruct her lord; and if I have ever presumed to differ with your highness on religion, it was partly to obtain information for my own comfort, regarding certain nice points on which I stood in doubt, and sometimes because I perceived that, in talking, you were better able to pass away the pain and weariness of your present infirmity, which encouraged me to this boldness, in the hope of profiting withal by your majesty's learned discourse."—"And is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king; "then are we perfect friends." He then kissed her with much tenderness, and gave her leave to depart.

On the day appointed for her arrest, the king, being convalescent, sent for the queen to take the air with him in the garden. Katharine came, attended, as before, by her sister lady Herbert, lady Jane Gray, and lady Tyrwhitt. Presently the lord chancellor Wriothesley, with forty of the

¹ Lady Jane Gray, though only nine years old at that time, held some office of state in the chamber of queen Katharine Parr. The fact is from Speed's Chronicle.

guard, entered the garden, with the expectation of carrying off the queen to the Tower, for not the slightest intimation had reached him of the change in the royal caprice. The king received him with a burst of indignation, saluted him with the unexpected address of "Beast! fool! and knave!" and, sternly withdrawing him from the vicinity of the queen, he bade him "avaunt from his presence." Katharine, when she saw the king so greatly incensed with the chancellor, had the magnanimity to intercede for her foe, saying, "She would become a humble suitor for him, as she deemed his fault was occasioned by mistake."—"Ah, poor soul!" said the king. "Thou little knowest, Kate, how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. On my word, sweet-heart, he hath been to thee a very knave!"¹

Katharine Parr treated the authors of the cruel conspiracy against her life with the magnanimity of a great mind and the forbearance of a true Christian. She sought no vengeance, although the reaction of the king's uxorious fondness would undoubtedly have given her the power of destroying them if she had been of a vindictive temper; but though Henry was induced, through the intercession of Katharine, to overlook the offence of Wriothesley, he never forgave Gardiner the part he had taken in this affair, which proved no less a political blunder than a moral crime. It was the death-blow of his credit with the king, who not only struck his name out of his council-book, but forbade him his presence. Gardiner, notwithstanding this prohibition, had the boldness to present himself before the sovereign on the terrace at Windsor among his former colleagues. When Henry observed him, he turned fiercely to his chancellor, and said, "Did I not command you that *he* should come no more among you?"—"My lord of Winchester," replied Wriothesley, "has come to wait upon your highness with the offer of a benevolence from his clergy."² This was touching the right chord, for money never came amiss to the rapacious and needy monarch from any quarter. Henry

¹ Speed. Herbert. Fox. Rapin.

² By the testification as well of master Denny as of sir Henry Neville, who were present.—Fox.

condescended to receive the address and to accept the bribe, but took no further notice of the bishop than to strike his name out of the list of his executors. Henry cancelled that of Thirlby bishop of Westminster also, "because," he said, "the latter was schooled by Gardiner,"¹—so careful was the king to leave neither power nor influence in the council of his successor to the man who had tempted him to close his reign with the murder of his innocent wife.

Henry is said to have exhibited many public marks of coarse but confiding fondness for queen Katharine Parr in his latter days. He was accustomed to call her "sweet-heart," and to lay his sore leg on her lap before the lords and ladies in waiting; and sometimes, it is said, he so far forgot the restraints of royalty as to do so in the presence of the whole court. The queen, who was still a very pretty little woman, and quite young enough to have been his daughter, was careful to receive these rude endearments as flattering marks of the favor of her royal lord; yet, after the fearful warning she had received of the capricious nature of his love, and the treachery of his disposition, she must have regarded herself as a "poor pensioner on the bounties of an hour." How, indeed, could the sixth wife of Henry pillow her head on his cruel bosom without dreaming of axes and flames? or fearing to see the curtains withdrawn by the pale spectres of his former matrimonial victims? Her wifely probation, as queen-consort of England, was, however, near its close, for Henry's own tragedy was rapidly drawing to a termination. Its last act was to be stained with the blood of the most accomplished nobleman in his dominions, the gallant Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, the cousin of his two beheaded queens, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard, and the friend and brother-in-law of his passionately loved son, Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond. Surrey has generally been regarded as the victim of the Seymour party, who had obtained a great ascendancy in the council since Gardiner had committed the false step of practising against the life of the queen.

¹ Lingard. Soames.

Katharine Parr, though she had labored, at the peril of being sent to the scaffold, to obtain toleration and liberty of conscience for those of her own religion, had hitherto carefully abstained from implicating herself with the intrigues of either party. Now she naturally threw the weight of her quiet influence into the scale of those who supported the doctrine of the Reformation. With this party, which was headed by the Seymours, her only brother the earl of Essex, and her sister's husband lord Herbert, were allied. A mortal hatred subsisted between the newly-aggrandized family of Seymour and the house of Howard. The high-spirited heir of Norfolk, in whose veins flowed the proud blood of Charlemagne and the Plantagenets, was known to look with contempt on the new nobility, and had rashly expressed his intention of avenging the insolence with which he had been treated by the earl of Hertford when a convenient season should arrive. The precarious state of the sovereign's health warned the Seymours to make the most of the power which they had got into their own hands. Among the absurd charges that were brought against Surrey, one must have been artfully framed to cause disquiet to queen Katharine; which was, that he had conceived the monstrous project of marrying his beautiful sister, the duchess-dowager of Richmond, to the king, although she was the widow of that monarch's reputed son, Henry duke of Richmond. Stranger still, the young lady herself, out of revenge, as it is supposed, to her noble brother, for having prevented her father from bestowing her in marriage on the admiral sir Thomas Seymour, of whom she was deeply enamoured, came forward as a witness against him, and deposed "that he had instructed her how to behave herself that she might obtain private interviews with the king, and so endear herself in his favor that she might rule as others had done." As Henry had already married two fair ladies of the Howard lineage,¹ the foes of Surrey and his father calculated that this odious accusation might possibly obtain sufficient credit to excite the indignation of the people and the jealousy of the queen,—so far, at

¹ Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard.

any rate, as to deter her from interceding in behalf of the victims of their murderous policy.

The unmerited fate of the accomplished Surrey has been ever considered as one of the darkest blots of the crime-stained annals of Henry VIII. It is somewhat remarkable that this monarch, who had received a learned education, made pretensions to authorship, and affected to be a patron of the *belles-lettres*, sent the three most distinguished literary characters of his court—sir Thomas More, lord Rochford, and Surrey—to the block from feelings of private and personal malice, and in so illegal a manner that the executions of all three deserve no gentler a name than murder. Surrey was beheaded on the 19th of January, 1546–7. Henry then lay on his death-bed; and his swollen and enfeebled hands having been long unequal to the task of guiding a pen, a stamp, with the fac-simile of the initials “H. R.,” was affixed to the death-warrant in his presence.¹ In like manner was that for the execution of the duke of Norfolk signed. This nobleman claimed a threefold relationship to the king,—as the husband of his maternal aunt, the princess Anne Plantagenet, and as the uncle of two of Henry’s queens, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard; according to the custom of those times, he had no doubt been occasionally called by the king ‘his uncle Norfolk.’ The last act of Henry’s life was to despatch a messenger to the lieutenant of the Tower, with an order for the execution of the unfortunate duke early on the following morning. This was on the evening of the 26th of January. A more irrevocable fiat had, however, gone forth against the relentless tyrant, and ere that morning dawned which was to have seen the hoary head of Norfolk fall on the scaffold, he was himself a corpse.²

¹ On August 31, 1546, Henry appointed A. Denny, J. Gate, and W. Clere to sign all instruments requiring his signature, from that day to the 10th of May, 1547, in the following manner:—Two of them were to impress a dry stamp upon the instrument, and the third to fill up the impression with pen and ink.—Rymer.

² The duke was reprieved from the execution of his sentence by the providential death of the king. It is therefore evident that it was from Henry himself that sentence proceeded, since the Seymours might easily have had the warrant

When the physicians announced to those in attendance on the sovereign that the hour of his departure was at hand, they shrunk from the peril of incurring the last ebullition of his vindictive temper by warning him of the awful change that awaited him.¹ The queen, worn out with days and nights of fatiguing personal attendance on her wayward lord, during the burning fever which had preyed upon him for more than two months, was in all probability unequal to the trial of witnessing the last fearful scene, for she is not mentioned as having been present on that occasion. Sir Anthony Denny was the only person who had the courage to inform the king of his real state. He approached the bed, and, leaning over it, told him "that all human aid was now vain; and that it was meet for him to review his past life, and seek for God's mercy through Christ." Henry, who was uttering loud cries of pain and impatience, regarded him with a stern look, and asked, "What judge had sent him to pass this sentence upon him?" Denny replied, "Your physicians." When these physicians next approached the royal patient to offer him medicine, he repelled them in these words:—"After the judges have once passed sentence on a criminal, they have no more to do with him; therefore begone!"² It was then suggested that he should confer with some of his divines. "I will see no one but Cranmer," replied the king, "and not him as yet. Let me repose a little, and as I find myself, so shall I determine."

After an hour's sleep he awoke, and, becoming faint, commanded that Cranmer, who had withdrawn to Croydon, should be sent for with all haste. But the precious interval had been wasted, and before the archbishop entered Henry was speechless. Cranmer besought him to testify by some sign his hope in the saving mercy of Christ: the king regarded him steadily for a moment, wrung his hand, and expired.³ Thévet bears testimony to the dying monarch's remorse of conscience for the murder of Anne

executed, if they had chosen, before the death of the sovereign was made public. It was his last order, and it must have cost some trouble to prevent it from being carried into effect.

¹ Burnet. Tytler. Lingard.

² Leti.

³ Godwin.

Boleyn in particular, and of his other crimes in general. Harpsfield describes him as afflicted with visionary horrors at the hour of his departure, for that he glanced with rolling eyes and looks of wild import towards the darker recess of his chamber, muttering to himself, "Monks—monks!" But whether this ejaculation implied that his disordered fancy had peopled vacancy with cowed figures, or that he was desirous of summoning monks to assist at his last oraisons, must forever remain a mystery. "Warned of the moment of approaching dissolution," says another writer, "and scorched with the death-thirst, he craved a cup of white wine, and turning to one of his attendants, he exclaimed, 'All is lost!' These words were his last." The same author avers that Henry was preparing an accusation against his queen on the old charge of heresy, which was only prevented by his death. If this were indeed the case, it would sufficiently account for the silence of contemporaries touching Katharine Parr's proceedings at the time of her royal husband's death. This throws some light, too, on the general remark of the historians of that period that Katharine's life was providentially preserved by the decease of Henry at a critical period for her, and that it was only by especial good luck that she was the survivor. The only notice of the queen which occurs at this period is contained in a letter addressed to her on the 10th of January by prince Edward, in which he thanks her for her New-year's gift,—the pictures of herself and the king his father, "which will delight him," he says, "to contemplate in their absence." He calls her "illustrious queen, and dearest mother." The youthful heir of England was at Hertford, with his preceptors, at the time of the last illness of his royal father.

Henry VIII. expired at two o'clock in the morning of January 28, 1546–7, at his royal palace of Westminster, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the fifty-sixth of his age. This important event was kept secret till the earl of Hertford had obtained possession of the person of his royal nephew, the young king Edward VI., and arranged his plans for securing the government of England in his name.

Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury

*Engraved by R. Houston after the Painting by
G. A. Periam now in Lambeth Palace*



The parliament met on the 29th, according to an adjournment which had been moved during the life of the sovereign, and received no intimation of his demise till Monday the last day of January,¹ when Wriothesley, the chancellor, announced to the assembled peers and commons the death of their late dread lord; "which," says the deceitful record, "was unspeakably sad and sorrowful to all hearers, the chancellor himself being almost disabled by his tears from uttering the words." A part of Henry's will was then read by sir William Paget, secretary of state, and the parliament was declared by the chancellor to be dissolved by the demise of the crown.

The queen expressed the utmost surprise on learning that she was not appointed to the regency of the realm, and the care of the person of the young king. She complained bitterly of the counsellors and executors of king Henry, and of those persons under whose influence his last testament had been made, but they paid no attention to her displeasure.² In this will Henry places the children he may have by his queen Katharine Parr in the order of succession immediately after his only son, prince Edward, giving them precedence of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth. If, therefore, the queen had borne a posthumous daughter to Henry, a civil war would unquestionably have been the result. The words are:—

"And per default of lawful issue of our son prince Edward, we will that the said imperial crown, and other the premises, after our two deceases, shall fully remain and come to the heirs of our entirely beloved wife queen Katharine that now is, or of any other our lawful wife that we shall hereafter marry."³

The last sentence seems ominous enough to the childless queen, implying that Henry meant to survive her, and was seriously providing for the contingency of his issue by a seventh queen. The preamble to the legacy he bequeaths

¹ Lingard. Mackintosh. Tytler. Rapin.

² Leti.

³ Chapter-house royal MS. This will was dated December 30, 1546. It is generally said to have been stamped with the royal initials, not signed; but, from the tremulous appearance of the up-strokes of the initials, the author is induced to believe that they were formed by the hand of the king himself. It is difficult to imagine how a stamp could produce a tremulous stroke.

to Katharine Parr contains, however, a very high testimony to her virtues:—

“And for the great love, obedience, chastity of life, and wisdom being in our forenamed wife and queen, we bequeath unto her for her proper life, and as it shall please her to order it, three thousand pounds in plate, jewels, and stuff of household goods, and such apparel as it shall please her to take of such as we have already. And further, we give unto her one thousand pounds in money, and the amount of her dower and jointure according to our grant in parliament.”

This legacy, when the relative value of money is considered, as well as the destitution of the exchequer at the time, will not be thought so inadequate a bequest as it appears. Katharine Parr was amply dowered by parliament, and by the king's patents; and she had two dowers besides, as the widow of the lords Borough and Latimer. She was supposed to have made great savings while she was queen-consort. After the death of the king, she received all the honors due to his acknowledged widow,—he left two, be it remembered; but *she* was prayed for as queen-dowager in the presence of the young king, by her old enemy Gardiner, in the following prayer for the royal family:—“I commend to God queen Katharine, dowager,¹ my lady Mary's grace, and my lady Elizabeth's grace, your majesty's dear sisters.” February 7, 1547, Edward VI. wrote a Latin letter of condolence to his widowed step-mother, superscribed “*Reginæ Katharinæ*,” calling her his dear mother, and concluding, “Farewell, venerated queen.”

The news of Henry's death was received with exultation at Rome. The pope asked cardinal Pole “Why he did not rejoice with the rest at the death of this great enemy of the church?” Pole replied, that “Nothing would be gained by that event, for the young king Edward had been educated by preceptors of Lutheran and Zuinglian principles; that the council of regency was composed of persons of the same class; and, to complete all, his uncles and the queen-mother [Katharine Parr] were more obstinate in their heresies than all the rest.”² While Henry's body lay in state, Gardiner held a controversy with lord Oxford's

¹ Fox.

² Leti.

players, who were located at Southwark, preparing to act a splendid play. Gardiner said "it would be more decent to perform a solemn dirge for his master, as besee meth, whilst he lay unburied." He applied to the justice of peace against the players, "who mean," says he, "to see which shall have most resort, them or I;" adding, that "if he could not prevent the acting of the play, he could and would prevent the people from going to see it while the king's body was above ground."¹

A book in the college of Arms supplies the following particulars of the obsequies of Henry VIII.:—"The chest wherein the royal corpse was laid stood in the midst of the privy-chamber, with lights; and divine service was said about him, with masses, obsequies, and continual watch made by the chaplains and gentlemen of the privy-chamber, in their course and order, night and day for five days, till the chapel was ready, where was a goodly hearse with eighty square tapers, every light containing two feet in length,—in the whole 1800 or 2000 weight in wax, garnished with pensils, escutcheons, banners, and bannerols of descents; and at the four corners, banners of saints, beaten in fine gold upon damask, with a majesty (*i.e.*, canopy) over of rich cloth of tissue, and valance of black silk, and fringe of black silk and gold. The barriers without the hearse, and the sides and floor of the chapel, were covered with black cloth to the high altar, and the sides and ceiling set with the banners and standards of St. George and others. The 2d of February the corpse was removed and brought into the chapel, by the lord great-master and officers of the household, and there placed within the hearse, under a pall of rich cloth of tissue garnished with scutcheons, and a rich cloth of gold set with precious stones. It continued there twelve days, with masses and *diriges* sung and said every day, Norroy each day standing at the choir-door, and beginning with these words in a loud voice:—'Of your charity pray for the soul of the high and mighty prince, our late sovereign lord and king, Henry VIII.'" February 14th, the corpse was removed for interment.

¹ Tytler's State-Papers, pp. 20, 21.

There is an appalling incident connected with that journey which we copy from a contemporary document among the Sloane collection :—"The king, being carried to Windsor to be buried, stood all night among the broken walls of Sion, and there the leaden coffin being cleft by the shaking of the carriage, the pavement of the church was wetted with Henry's blood. In the morning came plumbers to solder the coffin, under whose feet—I tremble while I write it," says the author—"was suddenly seen a dog creeping and licking up the king's blood. If you ask me how I know this, I answer, William Greville, who could scarcely drive away the dog, told me, and so did the plumber also." It appears certain that the sleepy mourners and choristers had retired to rest after the midnight dirges were sung, leaving the dead king to defend himself as best he might from the assaults of his ghostly enemies, and some people might think they made their approaches in a currish form. It is scarcely, however, to be wondered that a circumstance so frightful should have excited feelings of superstitious horror, especially at such a time and place; for this desecrated convent had been the prison of his unhappy queen, Katharine Howard, whose tragic fate was fresh in the minds of men, and, by a singular coincidence, it happened that Henry's corpse rested there the very day after the fifth anniversary of her execution. There is a class of writers who regard the accident which has just been related as a serious fulfilment of friar Peyto's denunciation against Henry from the pulpit of Greenwich church in 1553, when that daring preacher compared him to Ahab, and told him to his face, "that the dogs would, in like manner, lick his blood." In a very different light was Henry represented by bishop Gardiner in the adulatory funeral sermon which he preached at Windsor, on the 16th of February, on the text, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord," in which he enlarged on his virtues, and lamented the loss both high and low had sustained in the death of so good and gracious a king.

But to return to the ceremonial. "The corpse, being conveyed with great pomp to St. George's chapel, Windsor

castle, was then interred, let down into the vault by means of a vice, with the help of sixteen tall yeomen of the guard; the same bishop [Gardiner], standing at the head of the vault, proceeded in the burial service, and about the same stood all the head officers of the household,—as the lord great-master, the lord chamberlain, lord treasurer, lord comptroller, sergeant-porter, and the four gentlemen ushers in ordinary, with their staves and rods in their hands; and when the mould was brought and cast into the grave by the officiating prelate, at the words '*pulvis pulveri, cinis cineri*, then first the lord great-master, and after him the lord chamberlain and all the rest break their staves in shivers upon their heads, and cast them after the corpse into the pit with exceeding sorrow and heaviness, not without grievous sighs and tears. After this, *De profundis* was said, the grave covered over with planks, and Garter, attended by his officers, stood in the midst of the choir and proclaimed the young king's titles, and the rest of his officers repeated the same after him thrice. Then the trumpets sounded with great melody and courage, to the comfort of all them that were present,"¹ acting as a cordial to the official weepers, it may be presumed, after their hydraulic efforts were concluded. On the banners carried at Henry VIII.'s funeral, the arms of his late wife, queen Jane, were displayed, quartered with his; likewise a banner of the arms of queen Katharine Parr,² his widow,—these being the only wives he acknowledged out of six.

¹ MS. in college of Arms.

² "In the east window of the hall of Baynard's Castle," Sandford says, "stood the escutcheon of this queen, Katharine Parr, which I delineated from the original on the 8th of November, 1664, in which she did bear quarterly of six pieces:—the 1st, argent, on a pile, gules, betwixt six roses of the first, the roses of the second, which was an augmentation given to her, being queen. 2. Argent, two bars, azure, a border engrailed, sable, Parr. 3. Or, three water-bougets, sable, Roos of Kendal. 4. Varry, argent and azure, a fess, gules, Marmion. 5. Three chevrons interlaced in base, and a chief, or, Fitzhugh. 6. Vert, three bucks, standing at gaze, or, Green. These quarterings are ensigned with a royal crown, and are between a K and a P, for Katharine Parr."—Genealogical Hist. of England, fol. ed. p. 460. One of the badges of Parr, marquess of Northampton, borne by him at a review of the gentlemen pensioners in Greenwich park, was a maiden's head, crowned with gold.

During the brief period of her royal widowhood, Katharine Parr, now queen-dowager, resided at her fine jointure-house at Chelsea, on the banks of the Thames, which, with its beautiful and extensive gardens, occupied the pleasant spot now called Cheyne Pier.¹ Some of the noble trees in Mr. Druce's gardens appear coeval with that epoch, and are perhaps the same under whose budding verdure queen Katharine was accustomed to hold her secret meetings with her adventurous lover, sir Thomas Seymour, ere royal etiquette would allow her to give public encouragement to his suit. Faulkner assures us that at the time of Katharine Parr's residence at Chelsea palace, there was but one passable road in the village, which was a private way to the royal residence across the open fields; it crossed a foot-bridge, called in ancient records Blandel bridge, afterwards the scene of many murders by highwaymen, which caused the name to be corrupted, in vulgar parlance, to Bloody bridge. Across this dangerous track the lord admiral must have taken his nocturnal path to the queen. Seymour renewed his addresses to Katharine so immediately after king Henry's death, that she was wooed and won almost before she had assumed the widow's hood and barb, and

¹ The following particulars of Katharine Parr's dowager palace may be interesting to the reader, as it is a place so frequently mentioned, both in the personal history of this queen and that of her step-daughter, queen Elizabeth:—About the year 1536, Henry VIII., being seized of the manors of Chelsea and Kensington, built a capital messuage in Chelsea, called Chelsea hall, intending it as a nursery for his children, and made sir Francis Bryan keeper of it for life. Dr. King, in his MS. account of Chelsea, quoted by Lysons, says the "old manor-house stood near the church;" and adds, "Henry VIII.'s building stood upon that part of Cheyne walk which adjoins to Winchester house, and extends eastward as far as don Saltero's coffee-house." The north front of the manor-house is depicted, in a print, in Faulkner's Chelsea. The architecture of the ancient part assimilates somewhat with that of St. James's palace. Small turrets communicate with the chimneys; the windows are long and high, and one of them has the Tudor arch on the top. The battlements are crenated; the door, situated between two of the chimney turrets, is pointed gothic. There seemed little ornament, and no royal magnificence, in the structure. The walls of the royal garden were still entire when Mr. Faulkner's valuable history of Chelsea was written. A portion of them still remains in the gardens of Mr. Druce, and also of Mr. Handford, in which is the little stone basin used as a fish-pond in queen Katharine's pleasure-grounds, and marked in the ancient maps of Chelsea as part of that domain.

sweeping sable pall, which marked the relict of the departed majesty of England. Seymour had opportunities of confidential communication with the widowed queen even before the funeral of the royal rival for whom she had been compelled to resign him, when lady Latimer; for he was a member of the late king's household, and had been appointed by Henry's will one of the council of regency during the minority of the young king. His person and characteristics are thus described by Hayward:—"The lord Sudely" (he had been elevated to that title by his nephew, Edward VI.) "was fierce in courage, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnificent, but somewhat empty in matter." He was still in the prime of life, and possessed of the peculiar manners calculated to charm the softer sex. Though he had made more than one attempt to secure a splendid alliance, he had the art to make the queen-dowager believe that he was still a bachelor for her sake. Katharine, after having been the wife of three mature widowers in succession, to the last of whom that joyless bauble, a crown, had tricked her into three years, six months, and fourteen days of worse than Egyptian bondage, found herself, in her thirty-fifth year, still handsome, and apparently more passionately beloved than ever by the man of her heart. Womanlike, she gave him full credit for constancy and disinterested love, and found it difficult to withstand his ardent pleadings for her to reward his tried affection by at once giving him the hand which had been plighted to him before her marriage with the king. The postscript of the following letter, evidently not the first *billet-doux* the widowed queen had penned to Seymour, contains an interesting allusion to her feelings on the occasion of their previous separation, and the painful struggle it had caused:—

"MY LORD:—

"I send you my most humble and hearty commendations, being desirous to know how ye have done since I saw you. I pray you be not offended with me, in that I send sooner to you than I said I would, for my promise was but once in a fortnight. Howbeit the time is well abbreviated, by what means I know not, except weeks be shorter at Chelsea than in other places.

"My lord, your brother hath deferred answering such requests as I made to him till his coming hither, which he saith shall be immediately after the term.

This is not the first promise I have received of his coming, and yet unperformed. I think my lady hath taught him that lesson,¹ for it is her custom to promise many comings to her friends, and to perform none. I trust in greater matters she is more circumspect. And thus, my lord, I make my end, hidding you most heartily farewell, wishing you the good I would myself.—From Chelsea.

"P.S.—I would not have you to think that this mine honest good-will toward you to proceed of any sudden motion of passion; for, as truly as God is God, my mind was fully bent, the other time I was at liberty, to marry you before any man I know. Howbeit, God withstood my will therein most vehemently for a time, and, through his grace and goodness, made that possible which seemed to me most impossible; that was, made me renounce utterly mine own will, and to follow his will most willingly. It were long to write all the process of this matter; if I live, I shall declare it to you myself. I can say nothing but as my lady of Suffolk saith, 'God is a marvellous man.'

"By her, that is yours to serve and obey during her life,

"KATERYN THE QUEENE, K-P."

Endorsed,—"The Queen's letter from Chelsea to my Lord-admiral. The answer to the lord-admiral of her former loves."²

Seymour, who was determined not to lose Katharine a second time, would brook no delays, not even those which propriety demanded. The following letter was written by queen Katharine in reply to one of his love-letters, wherein, among other matters, their immediate marriage appears to have been warmly urged by the admiral:—

"MY LORD:—

"As I gather, by your letter delivered to my brother Herbert, ye are in some fear how to frame my lord your brother to speak in your favor, the denial of your request shall make his folly more manifest to the world, which will more grieve me than the want of his speaking. I would not wish you to importune for his good-will if it come not frankly at the first; it shall be sufficient once to require it, and then to cease. I would desire you might obtain the king's letters in your favor, and also the aid and furtherance of the most notable of the council, such as ye shall think convenient; which thing obtained, shall be no small shame to your brother and loving sister,³ in case they do not the like.

¹ It has been affirmed that Sanders is the only authority for the differences between Katharine Parr and Anne Stanhope, duchess of Somerset; but here is an evident indication of the same, under her own hand.

² The original of this important document, lately in the Strawberry hill collection of MSS., is an undoubted autograph of queen Katharine Parr, and a very fine specimen of her penmanship. A copy of it has been printed in Hearne's *Sylloge*, but with one or two verbal errors, and without the descriptive endorsement. The orthography has been modernized in the present copy. The autograph letter realized the enormous price of sixteen guineas at the sale at Strawberry hill.

³ Another ironical allusion to the enmity of the duchess of Somerset.

"My lord, whereas ye charge me with a promise, written with mine own hand, to change the two years into two months, I think ye have no such plain sentence written with my hand. I know not whether ye be a paraphraser or not. If ye be learned in that science, it is possible ye may of one word make a whole sentence, and yet not at all times alter the true meaning of the writer, as it appeareth by this your exposition upon my writing.

"When it shall be your pleasure to repair hither, ye must take some pain to come early in the morning, that ye may be gone again by seven o'clock; and so I suppose ye may come without suspect. I pray you let me have knowledge overnight at what hour ye will come, that your portress may wait at the gate¹ to the fields for you. And thus, with my most humble and hearty commendations, I take my leave of you for this time, giving you like thanks for your coming to court when I was there.—From Chelsea.

"P.S.—I will keep in store, till I speak with you, my lord's large offer for Fausterne, at which time I shall be glad to know your further pleasure therein.

"By her that is, and shall be, your humble, true, and loving wife during her life,
KATERYN THE QUEENE, K-P."

Although the precise date of Katharine Parr's fourth nuptials is uncertain, it is evident that the admiral's eloquence prevailed over her punctilio at a very early period of her widowhood, by persuading her to consent to a private marriage. Leti affirms, that exactly thirty-four days after king Henry's death a written contract of marriage and rings of betrothal were exchanged between Katharine and sir Thomas Seymour, but the marriage was not celebrated till some months later. According to Edward VI.'s journal this event took place in May, but it was certainly not made public till the end of June. Great censure has been passed on queen Katharine for contracting matrimony again so soon after the death of her royal husband. But, in the first place, she owed neither love nor reverence to the memory of a consort who had held a sword suspended over her by a single hair for the last six months of their union; and, in the next, Henry himself had previously led her into a similar breach of widowly decorum, by inducing her to become his wife within almost as brief a period after the death of her second husband, lord Latimer, as her marriage with Seymour after his own. It appears evident, from the tenor of the following reverential letter, dated May 17th, from Seymour to queen Katharine, which we give verbatim, that they had

¹ This postern is still in existence, in the garden of Mr. Druce. The antique hinges may be seen embedded in the old wall.

then been privately married for some days ; and that, at the time it was written, he was doubtful, from the cross-questioning of her sister lady Herbert, whether the queen had confided the secret to her, or circumstances had been whispered abroad which had led to unpleasant reports as to the nature of his nocturnal visits to her majesty.

SEYMOUR TO KATHARINE PARR.

" After my humble commendation unto your highness, yesternight I supped at *my* brother Herbert's,¹ of whom, for your sake besides mine own, I received good cheer ; and after the same, I received from your highness, by *my* sister Herbert, your commendations, which were more welcome than they were sent. And after the same, she (lady Herbert) waded further with me touching my lodging with your highness at Chelsea, which I denied lodging with your highness, but that indeed I went by the garden as I went to the bishop of London's house, and at this point stood with her a long time ; till at last she told me further tokens, which made me change color, who, like a false wench, took me with the manner. Then remembering what she was, and knowing how well ye trusted her, examined whether those things came from your highness or were feigned ; she answered, ' that they came from your highness, and he (lord Herbert) that he knew it to be true,' for the which I render unto your highness my most humble and hearty thanks, for by her company, in default of yours, I shall shorten the weeks in these parts, which heretofore were four days longer in every one of them than they were under the plummet at Chelsea. Besides this commodity, I may also inform your highness by her how I do proceed in my matter, although I should take my old friend, Walter Errol. I have not as yet attempted my strength, for that I would be first thoroughly in credit ere I would move the same ; but beseeching your highness that I may not so use my said strength that they shall think, and hereafter cast in my teeth, that by their suit I sought and obtained your good-will, for hitherto I am out of all their dangers for any pleasure that they have done for me worthy of thanks, and, as I judge, your highness may say the like ; wherefore by mine advice we will keep us so, nothing mistrusting the goodness of God but we shall be able to live out of their danger, as they shall out of ours ; yet I mean not but to use their friendship to bring our purpose to pass, as occasion shall serve. If I knew by what mean I might gratify your highness for your goodness to me, showed at our last lodging together, it should not be slack to declare mine lady again, and to that intent that I might be more bound unto your highness, that once in three days I might receive three lines in a letter from you, and as many lines and letters more as shall seem good unto your highness. Also, I shall humbly desire your highness to give me one of your small pictures, if ye have any left, who with *his* silence shall give me occasion to think on the friendly cheer that I shall receive when my suit shall be at an end ; and thus, for fear of troubling your highness with my long and rude letter, I take my leave of your highness, wishing that my hap may be one so good that I may declare so

¹ As he was then husband to Katharine Parr, he calls her brother-in-law, lord Herbert, thus.

much by mouth at the same hour that this was writing, which was twelve of the clock in the night, this Tuesday, the 17th of May, at St. James's.

"I wrote your highness a line in my last letter, that my lord of Somerset was going to that shire, who hath been sick, which by the — thereof, and as I understand, may get thither as to-morrow.

"From him whom ye have bound to honor, love, and in all lawful things obey,

"T. SEYMOUR," etc.

Endorsed,—"The Lord-admirall to the Queene."¹

In this lover-like and romantic manner did the fair queen-dowager and her secretly wedded lord pass the merry month of May, which, according to king Edward's diary, was their bridal month. The oft-repeated assertion, that "Katharine wedded Seymour so immediately after the death of her royal husband that, had she proved a mother so soon as she might have done, it would have been a doubt whether the child should have been accounted the late king's or the admiral's,"² rests wholly on the charge that was brought after her decease against Seymour in his indictment. Katharine, for her own sake, would scarcely have married till full three months had elapsed since the death of the king, as her issue, whether male or female, by the tenor of Henry VIII.'s will would have been heir-presumptive to the crown of England, and she was too prudent, and at the same time too ambitious, to have risked the benefit and dignity she would have obtained by a contingency that might have ultimately given her the rank and power of a queen-mother. May was certainly the earliest period in which she could, with any degree of safety, to say nothing of propriety, contract matrimony with her former lover; and even this, notwithstanding the precedent afforded by the precipitate marriage of Mary queen of France with Charles Brandon, was a great breach of royal etiquette.

Seymour at length became impatient of the restraints that attended his clandestine intercourse with his royal bride, and applied to the princess Mary for her advice and influence in the matter. In her dry and very characteristic reply,

¹ State-Paper MSS., Edward VI., No. 20.

² Art. 20 of charge against Seymour; Burnet's Hist. of Ref., p. 11. Records, p. 160.

the princess commences with allusions to some amplification of her establishment, which the interest of lord Seymour in the council of guardianship and regency had expedited:—

“MY LORD:—

“After my hearty commendations, these shall be to declare to you that, according to your accustomed gentleness, I have received six warrants from you by your servant *this bearer* [the bearer of this], for the which I do give you my hearty thanks; by whom, also, I received your letter, wherein, as methinketh, I perceive strange news concerning a suit you have in hand to the queen for marriage, for the sooner obtaining whereof you seem to think that my letters might do you a favor.

“My lord, in this case I trust your wisdom doth consider, that if it were for my nearest kinsman and dearest friend *on lyve* [alive], of all other creatures in the world it standeth least with my poor honor to be a meddler in this matter, considering whose wife her grace was of late; and besides that, if she be minded to grant your suit, my letters shall do you but small pleasure. On the other side, if the remembrance of the king’s majesty my father (whose soul God pardon!) will not suffer her to graunt your suit, I am nothing able to persuade her to forget the loss of him who is, as yet, very rife in mine own remembrance. Wherefore I shall most earnestly require you (the premises considered) to think none unkindness in me though I refuse to be a meddler any ways in this matter, assuring you that, *wooing matters set apart, wherein, being a maid, I am nothing cunning*, if otherways it shall lie in my power to do you pleasure, I shall be as glad to do it as you to require it, both for his blood’s sake that you be of,¹ and also for the gentleness which I have always found in you, as knoweth Almighty God, to whose tuition I commit you. From Wanstead, this Saturday, at night, being the 4th of June.

“Your assured friend, to my power,

“MARYE.”

The princess Elizabeth was at that time residing at Chelsea with queen Katharine, to whose maternal care she had been consigned by the council of the young king. It is very likely that she was very well acquainted with the whole affair, for even if the queen had not made her a confidante, her acute powers of observation and natural talent for intrigue would undoubtedly have enabled her to penetrate the cause of the handsome Seymour’s mysterious visits and admissions through the postern gate of the gardens at Chelsea.

In the latter end of May, queen Katharine was sojourning at St. James’s palace for a few days, and while there she wrote the young king a Latin letter on the subject of her great love for his late father Henry VIII. This was rather

¹ Being uncle to her brother, Edward VI., to whom she here alludes.

an extraordinary subject for the royal widow to dilate upon, since she was at the very time married to Seymour. She added to her letter many quotations from Scripture, and expressed an earnest desire that the young monarch would answer the epistle, which he did, in the same learned language. The following is a translation of Edward's letter; that of Katharine Parr is lost, but the answer gives a clear idea of its contents:—

“As I was so near to you, and saw you or expected to see you every day, I wrote no letter to you, since letters are tokens of remembrance and kindness between those who are at a great distance. But being urged by your request, I would not abstain longer from writing,—first, that I may do what is acceptable to you, and then to answer the letter you wrote to me when you were at St. James's, in which, first, you set before my eyes the great love you bear my father the king, of most noble memory; then your good-will towards me; and lastly, your godliness, and knowledge and learning in the Scriptures. Proceed, therefore, in your good course; continue to love my father, and to show the same great kindness to me which I have ever perceived in you. Cease not to love and read the Scriptures, but persevere in always reading them; for in the first you show the duty of a good wife and a good subject, and in the second, the warmth of your friendship, and in the third, your piety to God. Wherefore, since you love my father, I cannot but much esteem you; since you love me, I cannot but love you in return; and since you love the word of God, I do love and admire you with my whole heart. Wherefore, if there be anything wherein I may do you a kindness, either in word or deed, I will do it willingly. Farewell, this 30th of May.”¹

The artless young sovereign was, in the end, not only induced to recommend his wily uncle to his widowed step-mother for a husband, but led to believe that it was actually a match of his own making. In the innocence of his heart Edward wrote the following letter with his own hand to queen Katharine, in which he expresses himself highly obliged to her for acceding to his wish by marrying his uncle. The dignity with which the monarch, in his tenth year, offers his royal protection to the mature bride and bridegroom is truly amusing:—

TO THE QUEEN'S GRACE.

“We thank you heartily, not only for the gentle acceptance of our suit moved unto you, but also for the loving accomplishing of the same, wherein you have declared, not only a desire to gratify us, but to declare the good-will, likewise,

¹ Strype's Mems., vol. ii. part 1, p. 59, from archbishop Parker's coll. MSS.

that we bear to you in all your requests. Wherefore ye shall not need to *fear any grief to come, or to suspect lack of aid in need*, seeing that he, being mine uncle, is of so good a nature that he will not be troublesome any means unto you, and I of such mind, that for divers just causes I must favor you. But even as without cause you merely require help against him whom you have put in trust with the carriage of these letters, so may I merely return the same request unto you, to provide that he may live with you also without grief, which hath given him wholly unto you; and I will so provide for you both, that if hereafter any grief befall, I shall be a sufficient succor in your godly or praiseable enterprises.

"Fare ye well, with much increase of honor and virtue in Christ. From St. James's, the five-and-twenty day of June.

"EDWARD."

Endorsed, in an antique hand,—“The king's majesty's letter to the Queen after marriage, June 25, 1548.”

The manner in which king Edward was persuaded to move his council for a marriage between his uncle the admiral and queen Katharine, was subsequently deposed by the royal minor in these words:—"Lord admiral Seymour came to me in the last parliament at Westminster, and desired me 'to write a thing for him.' I asked him 'what?' He said 'It is no ill thing; it is for the queen's majesty' [Katharine Parr]. I said, 'If it were good, the lords would allow it; if it were ill, I would not write it.' Then he [Seymour] said, 'They would take it in better part if I would write.' I desired him 'to let me alone in that matter.' Cheke [the tutor of Edward] said to me afterwards, 'Ye were best not to write.'"¹

Young Edward, in his journal, notices the anger of the lord protector at the marriage of the admiral with the queen-dowager. Somerset and his council loudly condemned the presumption of the audacious Seymour, in daring to contract this lofty alliance without leave or license of those who exercised the authority of the crown. They did what they could to testify their hostility, by withholding from queen Katharine all the jewels that had been presented to her by the late king, under the pretext that they were not personal property, but heirlooms to the crown. This was touching the lady on a very tender point. "Can a bride

¹ Printed in a collection of documents, called *Recollections of Royalty*, by C. Jones, of the Temple.

forget her ornaments?" is a scriptural query, founded on the characteristic attachment of females for these glittering toys. Neither the equanimity nor the philosophy of this learned queen was proof against such a provocation as the detention of the costly endowments which had formed a portion of her conjugal wages during the perilous term of her servitude to her royal husband's caprices. Her indignant remonstrances were unavailing,—her jewels were never restored; and that their detention was no less illegal than vexatious may be gathered from the following observation of the lord admiral:—"My brother is wondrous hot in helping every man to his right, save me. He maketh a great matter to let me have the queen's jewels, which you see by the whole opinion of the lawyers ought to belong to me, and all under pretence that he would not the king should lose so much, as if it were a loss to the king to let me have mine own?"¹

The loss of her jewels was neither the only affront nor the only wrong to which the queen-dowager was subjected from her powerful brother-in-law. Somerset had fixed his mind on obtaining a lease of her favorite manor of Fausterne for a person of the name of Long, and we have seen with what scorn Katharine, in her first letter to the admiral, speaks of his brother's "large offer for Fausterne." The protector, however, strong in the authority of his office, actually caused Long to be admitted as a tenant of her majesty's demesne, in defiance of her wish to retain the property in her own hands. Katharine gives a lively account of her wrath at this outrage in the following letter to her husband.² She says:—

"MY LORD:—

"This shall be to advertise you that my lord your brother hath this afternoon made me a little warm. It was fortunate we were so much distant, for I suppose else I should have bitten him. What cause have they to fear [she adds, playfully] having such a wife? To-morrow, or else upon Saturday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, I will see the king, when I intend to utter all my choler to my lord your brother, if you shall not give me advice to the contrary, for I would be loath to do anything to hinder your matter. I will declare to you how my lord hath used me concerning Fausterne; and after, I shall most humbly desire you to

¹ State-Papers.

² Haynes's Burleigh Papers.

direct mine answer to him in that behalf. It liked him to-day to send my chancellor to me, willing him to declare to me that he had brought master Long's lease, and that he doubted not but I would let him enjoy the same to his commodity, wherein I should do to his succession no small pleasure, nothing considering his honor, which this matter toucheth not a little; for so much as I at sundry times declared unto him that only cause of my repair into those parts was for the commodity of the park, which else I would not have done, he, notwithstanding, hath so used the matter with giving master Long such courage, that he refuseth to receive such cattle as are brought here for the provision of my house; and so, in the mean time, I am forced to commit them to farmers. My lord, I beseech you send me word with speed how I shall order myself to my new brother. And thus I take my leave, with my most humble and hearty commendations, wishing you all your godly desires, and so well to do as I would myself, and better. From Chelsea, in great haste.

"By your humble, true, and loving wife in her heart,

"KATERYN THE QUEEN, K-P."¹

Whether Katharine enjoyed the satisfaction of telling the protector her mind in the presence of his royal nephew does not appear, but she was probably frustrated in her intention of obtaining an interview with the young king by the party most interested in keeping them apart. A scene such as that she meditated would have been recorded if it had ever taken place. Somerset is supposed to have been excited to injurious treatment of the widow of his royal master and benefactor, Henry VIII., by the malice of his duchess, who had always borne envious ill-will against Katharine Parr. Many and various are the accounts given by historians of the cause of the fatal animosity borne by these ladies towards each other. Open hostility between them broke out after the marriage of Katharine with the admiral, in consequence of the duchess of Somerset refusing any longer to fulfil her office of bearing up the train of the queen-dowager, alleging, "that it was unsuitable for her to submit to perform that service for the wife of her husband's younger brother."² According to Lloyd, "the duchess not only refused to bear up the queen's train, but actually jostled with her for precedence; so that," continues he, quaintly, "what between the train of the queen and the long gown of the duchess, they raised so much dust at court as at last put out the eyes of both their husbands, and caused their executions."

¹ Haynes's State-Papers, p. 61.

² Camden's Elizabeth.

The pretence on which the duchess of Somerset founded her presumptuous dispute for precedency with the queen-dowager in the court of Edward VI. was, that as the wife of the protector and guardian of the realm, she had a right to take place of every lady in England. It is possible that, with the exception of the ladies of the royal family, she might; but the act of Henry VIII., whereby it was provided that Anne of Cleves should take precedence after his queen and the princesses his daughters of every other lady in the realm, settled the matter of Katharine Parr's precedence beyond contravention; and the arrogant duchess was compelled to yield, but never forgave the mortification. According to Heylin, the duchess of Somerset was accustomed to inveigh, in the bitterest manner, against queen Katharine, and actually expressed herself concerning her in the following coarse and detracting language:—"Did not Henry VIII. marry Katharine Parr in his doting days, when he had brought himself so low by his lust and cruelty that no lady that stood on her honor would venture on him? And shall I now give place to her who in her former estate was but Latimer's widow, and is now fain to cast herself for support on a younger brother? If master admiral teach his wife no better manners, I am she that will."¹

The tender affection which the young king lavished on the queen-dowager, and his reverence for her talents, virtue, and piety, excited, of course, the jealousy and ill-will not only of the duchess of Somerset, but of her husband also, and the vulgar insolence of the former was systematically exerted to keep so powerful a rival from the court. The king was certainly far more attached to his uncle Thomas Seymour than to the protector, and Katharine Parr had always been to him in the place of the mother whom he had never known. Edward's practice of coming by the

¹ Hayward, in his *Life of Edward VI.*, speaks of Anne Stanhope, duchess of Somerset, "as a woman for many imperfections intolerable, but for pride monstrous. She was both exceeding violent and subtle in accomplishing her ends, for which she spurned all respects of conscience and shame. This woman did bear such invincible hate to the queen-dowager, first for light canes and woman's quarrels, and especially because she (queen Katharine) had precedence over her, being the wife of the greatest peer in the land."

private entrance unattended into queen Katharine's apartments, where no official spies could intrude to witness and report what passed between him and the admiral, caused great uneasiness to the protector and his party. Edward's best-loved sister, Elizabeth, and his accomplished cousin, lady Jane Gray, were in the interest of the admiral, both being pupils of queen Katharine, and residing under her roof.

The project of uniting lady Jane Gray with Edward VI. originated with Katharine Parr, who had directed her education in such a manner as to render her a suitable companion for the royal scholar. The aspiring protector desired to match king Edward with his own daughter, the learned lady Jane Seymour,¹ and to obtain lady Jane Gray for his son. His plans were, however, frustrated by a private arrangement between the admiral and the marquess of Dorset, the preliminaries of which were thus arranged. Soon after the death of king Henry, one Harrington, a confidential officer of sir Thomas Seymour, came to the marquess of Dorset's house, at Westminster, and proposed to him to enter into a close friendship and alliance with his master, who was like to come to very great authority. He advised Dorset to permit his daughter, lady Jane Gray, to reside with sir Thomas Seymour, because he would have the means of matching her much to his comfort. "With whom will he match her?" asked Dorset. "Marry!" quoth Harrington, "I doubt not you shall see him marry her to the king."² Upon these persuasions Dorset visited the ad-

¹ The boy king, with more pride than has generally been attributed to him, revolted at the idea of forming an alliance with a kinswoman and a subject. He notes, with dignified displeasure, in that depository of his private thoughts, his journal, the presumptuous project of his uncle Somerset to marry him to his cousin, the lady Jane Seymour, observing, that it was his intention to choose for his queen "a foreign princess, well *stuffed and jewelled*," meaning that his royal bride should be endowed with a suitable dower and a right royal wardrobe.

² Those who compare this conversation with the document published by that great historical antiquary, sir Harris Nicolas, in his *Memorials of Lady Jane Gray*, whereby we learn that the marquess of Dorset sold, for five hundred pounds, the wardship of his daughter Jane to lord Thomas, will be convinced that this bargain (which was by no means a strange one in those detestable times) was struck at this interview.

miral that day week at Seymour place, who gave such explanations of his prospects that Dorset struck a bargain¹ with him, sent for his daughter, and consigned her to him as an inmate of his house, in which she remained during the life of Katharine Parr.

Queen Katharine's cup-bearer, Nicholas Throckmorton, continued to follow her fortunes from the time of king Henry's decease. The Throckmorton MS. furnishes the following details connected with Katharine's fourth marriage:—

“My sovereign lost, the queen I did attend
The time when, widow, mourning she did rest;
And while she married was unto her end,
I willingly obeyed her highness's hest,
Who me esteemed and thought my service good,
Whereas, in truth, to small effect it stood.

Her husband, fourth, was uncle to the king,
Lord Seymour, high by office admiral,
In praise of whom loud peals I ought to ring,
For he was hardy, wise, and liberal;
His climbing high, disdained by his peers,
Was thought the cause he lived not out his years.

Her house was deemed a second court, of right,
Because there flocked still nobility;
He spared no cost his lady to delight,
Or to maintain her princely royalty.”

After queen Katharine had been the wife of her beloved Seymour some months, there was a prospect of her becoming a mother. Her raptures at the anticipation of a blessing which had been denied to all her other marriages carried her beyond the bounds of discretion; her husband was no less transported than herself: the feelings of pater-nity with them amounted to passion. During a brief separation, while Seymour was at court vainly soliciting of his brother the restoration of queen Katharine's property, among which not only the late king's gifts, but those of her mother, were unjustly detained, he writes in a very confidential and loving strain to his teeming consort:—

¹ Tytler's *Edward and Mary*, vol. i. p. 138.

"After my humble commendations and thanks for your letter. As I was perplexed heretofore with unkindness, apprehending I should not have justice in all my causes from those that I thought would have been partial to me, even so the receiving of your letter revived my spirits; partly for that I do perceive you be armed with patience, howsoever the matter may fall, but chiefest——"

Here he proceeds to exult in fierce hopes that his expected son, "should God give him life to live as long as his father,¹ will revenge his wrongs." He then adverts to other matters in these words:—

"Now, to put you in some hope again. This day, a little before the receiving your letter, I have spoken to my lord [Somerset], whom I have so well handled that he is somewhat qualified; and although I am in no hopes thereof, yet I am in no despair. I have also broken to him for your mother's gift; he makes answer, 'that at the finishing of the matter you shall either have your own again, or else some recompense as ye shall be content withal.' I spake to him of your going down into the country on Wednesday, who was sorry thereof, trusting that I would be here all to-morrow, to hear what the Frenchmen will do; but on Monday, at dinner, I trust to be with you. As for the Frenchmen, I have no mistrust that they shall be any *let* [hinderance] of my going with you this journey, or any of my continuing there with your highness. Thus, till that time, I bid your highness most heartily well to fare, and thank you for your news, which were right heartily welcome to me."

He expresses his earnest desire that both the queen and his expected progeny, which he insists is to be a boy, may be kept in health "with good diet and walking," and concludes in these words:—

"And so I bid my most dear and well-beloved wife most heartily well to fare. From Westminster, this Saturday, the 9th of June.

"Your highness's most faithful loving husband,

"T. SEYMOUR."

The queen was then at Hanworth, one of the royal manors belonging to her dower, from whence Seymour escorted her to his principal baronial residence, Sudely castle.

The jealousy with which the duke of Somerset regarded his brother the admiral operated to prevent, as far as he could, the slightest intercourse between him and their royal nephew, the young king. The admiral, however, who was bent on superseding Somerset in the office of protector, contrived to keep up a secret correspondence with Edward, and

¹ Tytler's State-Papers, entitled "England under Edward VI. and Mary," pp. 104-106.

to supply him with money, of which he was kept almost destitute.¹ One of the agents of this correspondence was John Fowler, a gentleman of Edward's privy-chamber. The following letter shows how vigilantly the young king was beset, and the jealous care taken by Somerset and his satellites to prevent his writing to that beloved step-mother, to whom his heart yearned with not less than filial tenderness:—

“JOHN FOWLER TO MY LORD-ADMIRAL.

“I most humbly thank your lordship for your letter, dated the 15th of this present, which letter I showed to the king's majesty. And whereas, in my last letter to your lordship, I wrote unto you if his grace could get any spare time his grace would write a letter to the queen's grace and to you, his highness desires your lordship to pardon him, for his grace is not *half a quarter of an hour alone*. But in such leisure as his grace had, his majesty hath written (here enclosed) his commendations to the queen's grace, and to your lordship, that he is so much bound to you that he must needs remember you always, and, as his grace may have time, you shall well perceive by such *small lines* of recommendations with his own hand.”²

Enclosed within Fowler's letter are the royal notes alluded to, written by Edward's own hand on torn and shabby scraps of paper, betraying both the scarcity of that article in the royal escritoire, and the stealthy manner in which they were penned. The first is a mysterious request for money, addressed to his uncle:—“My lord,—Send me, per Latimer, as much as ye think good, and deliver it to Fowler.—EDWARD.” The second of “*these small lines*” is:—“My lord, I thank you, and pray you to have me commended to the queen.”³

There is in the context of Fowler's letter an allusion to queen Katharine's situation, with a friendly wish for the birth of the son, of whom both parents were so fondly desirous. He says, “My lady of Somerset is brought to bed of a goodly boy, and I trust in Almighty God the queen's grace shall have another.” Fowler's letter is dated July 19th, from Hampton, where the young king then was. Seymour's great object was to get a letter written by king Edward, complaining of the arbitrary conduct of the pro-

¹ Haynes's State-Papers. Lingard. Tytler.

² State-Paper MSS.

³ Ibid.

tector, and the restraint in which he was kept by him. Edward had actually consented to write the letter, which the admiral was to lay before the parliament; but before this could be done, the plot was betrayed to the protector. The admiral was called before the council to answer for his proceedings. He defied them, but when he was threatened with imprisonment in the Tower, he made submissions to his brother, a hollow reconciliation took place for the present, and 800*l.* per annum was added to his appointments by the protector, in the hope of conciliating him.¹

As long as queen Katharine lived, the admiral was too powerful for his foes; perhaps he did not sufficiently appreciate her value, even in a political and worldly point of view, till it was too late. The residence of the princess Elizabeth under their roof was fatal to the wedded happiness of Seymour and Katharine. The queen, forgetful that a blooming girl in her fifteenth year was no longer a child, had imprudently encouraged the admiral to romp with her royal step-daughter in her presence. Mrs. Ashley, the princess Elizabeth's governess, in her deposition before the privy council, gives a strange picture of the coarse manners of the times in which such proceedings could be tolerated in a palace, and with royal ladies. "At Chelsea, after my lord Thomas Seymour was married to the queen, he would come many mornings into the said lady Elizabeth's chamber before she were ready, and sometimes before she did rise; and if she were up he would bid her good-morrow, and *ax* how she did, and strike her on the back familiarly, and so go forth to his chamber, and sometimes go through to her maidens and play with them. And if the princess were in bed he would put open the curtains and bid her good-morrow, and she would go further in the bed. And one morning he tried to kiss the princess *in* her bed, and this deponent was there, and bade him go away for shame. At Hanworth, for two mornings the queen [Katharine Parr] was with him, and they both tickled my lady Elizabeth in her bed. Another time, at Hanworth, he romped with her in the garden, and cut her gown, being black cloth, into a

¹ Burnet. Lingard. Tytler.

hundred pieces; and when Mrs. Ashley came up and chid lady Elizabeth, she answered, 'She could not strive with all, for the queen held her while the lord admiral cut the dress.' Another time, lady Elizabeth heard the master-key unlock, and, knowing my lord admiral would come in, ran out of her bed to her maidens, and then went behind the curtain of her bed; and my lord tarried a long time, in hopes that she would come out." When Mrs. Ashley remonstrated with the lord admiral on the improprieties of his behavior, which had caused the princess to be evil spoken of, he replied, with a profane exclamation, "I will tell my lord protector how I am slandered; and I will not leave off, for I mean no evil."¹

"At Seymour place, when the queen slept there, he did use awhile to come up every morning in his night-gown and slippers. When he found my lady Elizabeth up, and at her book, then he would look in at the gallery-door, and bid her good-morrow, and so go on his way; and the deponent told my lord it was an unseemly sight to see a man so little dressed in a maiden's chamber, with which he was angry, but left it. At Hanworth, the queen told Mrs. Ashley 'that my lord admiral looked in at the gallery-window, and saw my lady Elizabeth with her arms about a man's neck.' Upon which Mrs. Ashley questioned her charge regarding it, and the lady Elizabeth denied it, weeping, and bade them '*ax* all her women if there were any man who came to her, excepting Grindal?' [her school-master]. Howbeit, Mrs. Ashley thought the queen, being jealous, did feign this story, to the intent that Mrs. Ashley might take more heed to the proceedings of lady Elizabeth and the lord admiral." The governess added, "that her husband, Mr. Ashley, who, it seems, was a relative of Anne Boleyn, did often give warning that he feared the princess did bear some affection to the lord admiral, as she would sometimes blush when she heard him spoken of."²

Elizabeth herself told Parry, the cofferer of her household, "that she feared the admiral loved her but too well,

¹ Mrs. Ashley's depositions before king Edward's privy council.—Haynes's State-Papers.

² Haynes's State-Papers.

and that the queen was jealous of them both; and that, suspecting the frequent access of the admiral to her, her majesty came suddenly upon them when they were alone, he having her in his arms." Queen Katharine was greatly offended with them both, and very sharply reproved the princess's governess for her neglect of her duty to her royal pupil, in permitting her to fall into such reprehensible freedom of behavior. Conjugal jealousy apart, Katharine Parr had great cause for anger and alarm; for the princess was under her especial care, and if aught but good befell her at the tender age of fifteen, great blame would, of course, attach to herself, especially if the admiral, for whose sake she had already outraged popular opinion, were the author of her young step-daughter's ruin. It is just possible that the actual guilt incurred by the unhappy queen Katharine Howard, in her girlhood, did not amount to a greater degree of impropriety than the unseemly romping which took place almost every day at Chelsea between the youthful princess Elizabeth and the bold, bad husband of Katharine Parr.

It does not appear that any violent or injurious expressions were used by queen Katharine, but she saw the expediency of separating her household from that of the princess, and acted upon it without delay. There is no reason to believe that she cherished vindictive feelings against Elizabeth, for she continued to correspond with her in a friendly and affectionate manner, as the princess herself testifies in the playful and somewhat familiar letter which is here subjoined:—

LADY ELIZABETH TO THE QUEEN.¹

"Although your highness's letters be most joyful to me in absence, yet, considering what pain it is for you to write, your grace being so sickly, your commendations were enough in my lord's letter. I much rejoice at your health, with the well liking of the country, with my humble thanks that your grace wished me with you till I were weary of that country. Your highness were like to be cumbered, if I should not depart till I were weary of being with you; although it were the worst soil in the world, your presence would make it pleasant. I cannot reprove my lord for not doing your commendations in his

¹ Hearne's Sylloge.

letter, for he did it; and although he had not, yet I will not complain on him, for he shall be diligent to give me knowledge from time to time how his busy child doth; and if I were at his birth, no doubt I would see him beaten, for the trouble he hath put you to. Master Denny and my lady, with humble thanks, prayeth most entirely for your grace, praying the Almighty God to send you a most lucky deliverance; and my mistress¹ wisheth no less, giving your highness most humble thanks for her commendations. Written, with very little leisure, this last day of July.

"Your humble daughter,
"ELIZABETH."

This letter, dated within six weeks of the queen's death, affords convincing evidence that she was on amicable terms with her royal step-daughter. She had not only written kindly to Elizabeth expressing a wish that she were with her at Sudely, but she had even encouraged the admiral to write, when not well enough herself to continue the correspondence,—a proof that Katharine Parr, though she had considered it proper to put a stop to the dangerous familiarity with which her husband had presumed to demean himself towards her royal charge, did not regard it as anything beyond a passing folly. But even if her heart had been torn with jealousy, she was too amiable to blight the opening flower of Elizabeth's life by betraying feelings injurious to the honor of the youthful princess. It was not, however, Elizabeth, but the young and early wise lady Jane Gray who became the companion of Katharine Parr at Sudely castle, when she withdrew thither to await the birth of her child. Lady Jane continued with queen Katharine till the melancholy sequel of her fond hopes of maternity.

Sudely castle² was royal property, that had been granted to the admiral by the regency on the death of king Henry. It was suspected that lands thus illegally obtained were held on a doubtful tenure. One day, when queen Katharine was walking in Sudely park with her husband and sir Robert Tyrwhitt, she said, "Master Tyrwhitt, you will

¹ Katharine Ashley, her governess.

² Sudely castle is situated in Gloucestershire, and was, even in the reign of Henry IV., a noble building; and when one of the Botelers, its lord, was arrested by Henry IV., he suspected the king of coveting his castle, and looking back at it, said, "Ah, Sudely castle! thou art the traitor, not I."

see the king, when he cometh to full age, will call in his lands again, as fast as they be now given away from him." "Marry," said master Tyrwhitt, "then will Sudely castle be gone from my lord admiral."—"Marry," rejoined the queen, "I do assure you he intends to offer to restore them, and give them freely back when that time comes." Queen Katharine had a princely retinue in attendance upon her, in her retirement at Sudely castle, of ladies in waiting, maids of honor, and gentlewomen in ordinary, besides the appointments for her expected nursery and lying-in chamber, and more than a hundred and twenty gentlemen of her household, and yeomen of the guard. She had several of the most learned men among the lights of the Reformation for her chaplains,¹ and she caused divine worship to be performed twice a day, or oftener, in her house, notwithstanding the distaste of the admiral, who not only refused to attend these devotional exercises himself, but proved a great let and hinderance to all the pious regulations his royal consort strove to establish.² This opposition came with an ill grace from Seymour, who, for political purposes, professed to be a reformer, and had shared largely in the plunder of the old church; but in his heart he had no more liking for Protestant prayers and sermons than queen Katharine's deceased lord, king Henry.

A few days before her confinement, Katharine received the following friendly letter from the princess Mary:—³

"MADAME:—

"Although I have troubled your highness lately with sundry letters, yet that, notwithstanding, seeing my lord marquess, who hath taken the pains to come to me at this present, intendeth to see your grace shortly, I could not be satisfied without writing to the same, and especially because I purpose to-morrow (with the help of God) to begin my journey towards Norfolk, where I shall be farther from your grace; which journey I have intended since Whitsuntide, but lack of health hath stayed me all the while, which, altho' it be as yet unstable, nevertheless I am enforced to remove for a time, hoping, with God's grace, to return again about Michaelmas, at which time, or shortly after, I trust to hear good success of your grace's condition; and in the mean time shall desire much to hear of your health, which I pray Almighty God to continue and increase to his pleasure, as much as your own heart can desire. And

¹ Strype's Memorials. Latimer's Sermons.

² Ibid.

³ Hearne's Sylloge.

thus, with my most humble commendations to your highness, I take my leave of the same, desiring your grace to take the pain to make my commendations to my lord admiral.—From Beaulieu, the 9th of August.

“Your highness’s humble and assured loving daughter,

“MARYE.”

The lord marquess mentioned by Mary was queen Katharine’s only brother, William Parr, marquess of Northampton. His guilty and unhappy wife, the heiress of Essex, was then at Sudely castle under some restraint, and in the keeping of her royal sister-in-law. This unpleasant charge must have greatly disquieted the last troubled months of Katharine Parr’s life.¹

Katharine fitted up the apartments which she destined for the reception of her first-born with no less state and magnificence than if she had been still queen-consort of England, and expected to present king Henry himself with a prince destined to bear the royal title of duke of York, and perhaps hereafter to succeed to the regal garland. The outer apartment, or day nursery, was hung with fair tapestry, representing the twelve months, a chair of state covered with cloth of gold, cushions of cloth of gold, all the other seats being tabourets with embroidered tops, and a gilded bedstead, with tester curtains, and counterpoint of corresponding richness. The inner chamber was also hung with costly tapestry, specified “as six fair pieces of hangings;” and besides the rich cradle with its three down pillows and quilt, there was a bed with a tester of scarlet and curtains of crimson taffeta, with a counterpoint of silk serge, and a bed for the nurse, with counterpoints of imagery to please the babe. A goodly store of costly plate, both white and parcel-gilt, were also provided for the table service of the anticipated heir. Local tradition still points to a beautiful embowed window, of the most elaborate Tudor-gothic order of architecture, which commands the fairest prospect

¹ The marriage between the queen’s brother and the frail representative of the royally connected line of Bouchier was finally dissolved, and the children of the marchioness, by her paramour, declared incapable of succeeding to the honors of Essex or Northampton. So much for the advantages derivable from marriages founded on sordid or ambitious motives! Parr, marquess of Northampton, was thrice wedded, and died without an heir to perpetuate his honors.

and the best air, as the nursery-window *par excellence*; but the inventory of "the plate and stuff *as belongeth* to the nursery of the queen's child" enumerates carpets for *four* windows, whereof this surviving relic retains, after the lapse of three centuries, the unforgotten name of the nursery-window. It looks upon the chapel green, and towards another scene sacred to the recollections of England's royal dead,—St. Kenelm's wood.

On the 30th of August, 1548, Katharine Parr gave birth, at Sudely castle, to the infant whose appearance had been so fondly anticipated both by Seymour and herself. It was a girl, and though both parents had confidently expected a boy, no disappointment was expressed. On the contrary, Seymour, in a transport of paternal pride, wrote so eloquent a description of the beauty of the new-born child to his brother the duke of Somerset that the latter added the following kind postscript to a stern letter of expostulation and reproof, which he had just finished writing to him when he received his joyous communication :—

"After our hearty commendations,

"We are right glad to understand by your letters that the queen, your bed-fellow, hath a happy hour; and, escaping all danger, hath made you the father of so pretty a daughter. And although (if it had pleased God) it would have been both to us, and (we suppose) also to you, a more joy and comfort if it had, this the first-born, been a son, yet the escape of the danger, and the prophecy and good hansell of this to a great sort of happy sons, which (as you write) we trust no less than to be true, is no small joy and comfort to us, as we are sure it is to you and to her grace also; to whom you shall make again our hearty commendations, with no less gratulation of such good success.

"Thus we bid you heartily farewell. From Sion, the 1st of Sept., 1548.

"Your loving brother,

"E. SOMERSET."¹

From this letter it is evident that lord Thomas had been casting horoscopes and consulting fortune-tellers, who had promised him long life and a great *sort* of sons.

It is difficult to imagine that the admiral, however faulty his *morale* might be on some points, could cherish evil intentions against her who had just caused his heart to overflow for the first time with the ineffable raptures of paternity. The charge of his having caused the death of queen

¹ State-Paper MSS.

Katharine by poison can only be regarded as the fabrication of his enemies; neither is there the slightest reason to believe that the unfavorable symptoms, which appeared on the third day after her delivery, were either caused or aggravated by his unkindness. On the contrary, his manner towards her, when she was evidently suffering under the grievous irritability of mind and body incidental to puerperal fever, appears from the deposition of lady Tyrwhitt,¹ her step-daughter, one of the most faithful and attached of her ladies, to have been soothing and affectionate. Let the reader judge from the subjoined record of that sad scene in the chamber of the departing queen:—"Two days before the death of the queen," says lady Tyrwhitt, "at my coming to her in the morning, she asked me 'where I had been so long?' and said unto me 'that she did fear such things in herself that she was sure she could not live.' I answered as I thought, 'that I saw no likelihood of death in her.' She then, having my lord admiral by the hand, and divers others standing by, spake these words, partly, as I took, *idly* [meaning in delirium]:—"My lady Tyrwhitt, I am not well handled; for those that be about me care not for me, but stand laughing at my grief, and the more good I will to them, the less good they will to me.' Whereunto my lord admiral answered, 'Why, sweetheart, I would you no hurt.' And she said to him again, aloud, 'No, my lord, I think so;' and immediately she said to him in his ear, 'but, my lord, you have given me many shrewd taunts.' These words I perceived she spake with good memory, and very sharply and earnestly, for her mind was sore disquieted. My lord admiral, perceiving that I heard it, called me aside, and asked me 'What she said?' and I declared it plainly to him. Then he consulted with me 'that he would lie down on the bed by her, to look if he could pacify her unquietness with gentle communication,' whereunto I agreed; and by the time that he had spoken three or four words to her, she answered him roundly and sharply, saying, 'My lord, I

¹ Lady Tyrwhitt was one of the three ladies included by Gardiner and Wriothesley in the bill of indictment they had prepared, with the sanction of the deceased king, against Katharine Parr.

would have given a thousand marks to have had my full talk with Hewyke [Dr. Huick] the first day I was delivered, but I durst not for fear of displeasing you.' And I, hearing that, perceived her trouble to be so great that my heart would serve me to hear no more. Such like communications she had with him the space of an hour, which they did hear that sat by her bedside."¹

It is probable that the alarming change in Katharine had been caused, not by any sinister practices against her life, but by whispers previously circulated among the gossips in her lying-in chamber relating to her husband's passion for her royal step-daughter, and of his intention of aspiring to the hand of the princess in case of her own decease. Her malady was puerperal fever. A sense of intolerable wrong was constantly expressed by her, yet she never explained the cause of her displeasure. She alluded to her delivery, but, strange to say, never mentioned her infant. Wild and gloomy fantasies had superseded the first sweet gushings of maternal love in her troubled bosom, and she appeared unconscious of the existence of the babe she had so fondly anticipated. This symptom, with ladies in her situation, is generally the forerunner of death.

On the very day when the scene occurred, described by lady Tyrwhitt, Katharine Parr dictated her will, which is still extant in the Prerogative-office;² it is dated September 5, 1548, and it is to the following effect:—"That she, then lying on her death-bed, sick of body, but of good mind, and perfect memory and discretion, *being persuaded*, and perceiving the extremity of death to approach her, gives *all* to her married *espose* and husband, wishing *them* to be a thousand times more in value than they were, or been." There are no legacies, and the witnesses are two well-known historical characters,—

ROBERT HUYCK, M.D.,
and
JOHN PARKHURST.

¹ Haynes's State-Papers, p. 104.

² The public are indebted, for the will of Katharine Parr, to the research of John Courthope, Esquire, Rouge Croix, who kindly favored us with a copy.

This is a *nuncupative* or verbal will; it was not signed by the dying queen, which we find was usually the case with death-bed royal wills of that era. The witnesses were persons of high character and even sacred authority in a sick chamber, being the physician and chaplain; the latter became subsequently a bishop of the reformed church, highly distinguished for his Christian virtues. In after-life, Parkhurst always mentioned Katharine Parr with great regard, as his "most gentle mistress." Was it likely that such a man would perjure himself for the sake of enriching Seymour? Yet the affectionate language of the will is inconsistent with the suspicions and reproaches which lady Tyrwhitt affirmed that the dying queen threw out against her lord on the very day of its date,—viz., September 5, 1548. Both these facts are depositions on oath, made by two most respectable witnesses on the same day. As lady Tyrwhitt declares that she entered the queen's apartments in the morning, when the lord admiral was by the bedside, with the patient's hand in his, it is likely that she came in just after the will had been made. Let us consider the state of Katharine Parr's mind at this juncture: Dr. Huick had recently revealed to her her danger; her words, "being persuaded of the approach of death;" her will distinctly intimates this fact; the result was an instant testamentary disposition of her property, in which she at the same time exerted her peculiar privilege, as queen-dowager, of bequeathing her personal effects, though a married woman, and showed her passionate love to her husband, for she left him *all*, "wishing *them* [her goods] a thousand times more than they were, or been." Her words are evidently written as uttered, with all imperfections. *He* was the sole object of her thoughts, her new-born infant was forgotten,—a lapse of memory on the part of its mother which doomed it to beggary before it could speak. All these circumstances certainly occurred in a short space of time, and doubtless occasioned great hurry of spirits. The queen's ladies knew not of her danger: lady Tyrwhitt says she did not. The queen in her will says "she herself had been *persuaded* of it." Then came the revulsion of feeling; the

queen, on recollection, was not reconciled to death, and began to question, angrily, whether her death was not caused by carelessness or malice? Lady Tyrwhitt saw she spoke deliriously, or, according to her phrase, idly; her mind wandered, and former jealousies and affronts, hitherto successfully concealed, biased her speech. She thought that her husband, to whom she had bequeathed her all, was exulting in her removal. She fancied—and that part of the narrative plainly reveals delirium, for such fancies are symptomatic—that he she loved so well stood deriding her misery. He acted considerably, soothing her as a nurse soothes a sick, wayward child; but his manner, as described by lady Tyrwhitt, was that of a person in possession of intellect humoring the sad vagaries of a mind diseased.

Katharine Parr expired on the second day after the date of her will, being the eighth after the birth of her child. She was only in the thirty-sixth year of her age,¹ having survived her royal husband, Henry VIII., but one year, six months, and eight days. Her character is thus recorded by a contemporary, quoted by Strype:—

“She was endued with a pregnant wittiness, joined with right wonderful grace of eloquence; studiously diligent in acquiring knowledge, as well of human discipline as also of the holy Scriptures; of incomparable chastity, which she kept not only from all spot, but from all suspicion, by avoiding all occasions of idleness, and contemning vain pastimes.”

Fuller also, in his Church History, speaks of her in the highest terms of commendation. The official announcement of queen Katharine Parr's death, together with the programme of her funeral, is copied from a curious contemporary MS. in the College of Arms. Lady Jane Gray, who was with queen Katharine at Sudely castle at the time of her death, officiated at her funeral solemnity as chief mourner, which is certified in this document.

¹ See her mother lady Parr's correspondence with lord Dacre, which proves that Katharine Parr was four years younger than has generally been supposed.

"A Breviate of the interment of the lady Katharine Parr, queen-dowager, late wife to king Henry VIII., and after wife to sir Thomas lord Seymour, of Sudely, and high-admiral of England.

"Item, on Wednesday the vth of September, between two and three of the clock in the morning, died the aforesaid lady, late queen-dowager, at the castle of Sudely, in Gloucestershire, 1548, and lieth buried in the chapel of the said castle.

"Item, she was oered and chested in lead accordingly, and so remained in her privy-chamber until things were in readiness.

"The chapel was hung with black cloth, garnished with scutocheons of mariages,—viz., king Henry VIII. and her in pale under the crown; her own in lozenge under the crown; also the arms of the lord admiral and hers in pale, without the crown.

"The rails were covered with black cloth for the mourners to sit within, with stools and cushions accordingly, and two lighted scutocheons stood upon the corpse during the service.

"The Order in proceeding to the Chapel.

"First, two conductors in black, with black staves; then gentlemen and esquires; then knights; then officers of the household, with their white staves; then the gentlemen ushers; then Somerset herald, in the tabard coat; then the corpse, borne by six gentlemen in black gowns, with their hoods on their heads; then eleven staff torches, borne on each side by yeomen round about the corpse, and at each corner a knight for assistance (four), with their hoods on their heads; then the lady Jane (daughter to the lord marquess Dorset) chief mourner, her train borne up by a young lady; then six other lady mourners, two and two; then all ladies and gentlemen, two and two; then yeomen, three and three in rank; then all other following.

The manner of the Service in the Church.

"Item, when the corpse was set within the rails, and the mourners placed, the whole choir began and sung certain psalms in English, and read three lessons; and after the third lesson, the mourners, according to their degrees and that which is accustomed, offered into the alms-box; and when they had done, all other, as gentlemen or gentlewomen, that would.

*"The offering done, doctor Coverdale, the queen's almoner,¹ began his sermon, which was very good and godly; and in one place thereof he took occasion to declare unto the people 'how that they should none there think, say, or spread abroad that the offering which was there done, was done anything to benefit the dead, but for the poor only; and also the lights, which were carried and stood about the corpse, were for the honor of the person, and for none other intent nor purpose;' and so went through with his sermon, and made a godly prayer, and the whole church answered and prayed the same with him in the end. The sermon done, the corpse was buried, during which time the choir sung *Te Deum**

¹ This is a mistake twice iterated in the *Archæologia*. The Roman numeral being used, the additional iii have been omitted or obliterated. The queen was probably buried September 8th.

² He was in that office at her death, by this document.

in English. And this done, the mourners dined, and the rest returned homeward again. All which aforesaid was done in a morning."¹

This curious document presents the reader with the form of the first royal funeral solemnized according to Protestant rites. Queen Katharine's epitaph was written in Latin by her chaplain, Dr. Parkhurst, afterwards bishop of Norwich. The translation by an anonymous author is elegant:—

“In this new tomh the royal Katharine lies,
Flower of her sex, renowned, great, and wise;
A wife hy every nuptial virtue known,
And faithful partner once of Henry's throne.
To Seymour next her plighted hand she yields—
Seymour, who Neptune's trident justly wield.
From him a beauteous daughter bless'd her arms,
An infant copy of her parent's charms:
When now seven days this infant flower had bloom'd,
Heaven in its wrath the mother's soul resumed.”

The erudite writer, who has collected many interesting particulars in the *Archæologia* of the life of this queen, says, “She was tormented and broken-hearted with the pride of her sister-in-law and the ill-temper of her husband, whom she adored to the last.” No instance of personal incivility or harshness on the part of the lord admiral towards Katharine Parr has, however, been recorded, without, indeed, the “shrewd taunts” she mentioned in her delirium were matters of fact. If so, like many other bad-tempered husbands, he was resolved no one should revile his wife but himself; for he was wont to affirm, with his usual terrible oath, that “no one should speak ill of the queen, or, if he knew it, he would take his fist to the ears of those who did, from the lowest to the highest.”² The charge of his having

¹ From a MS. in the college of Arms, London, entitled “A Booke of Buryalls of Trew Noble Persons.” No. 1–15, pp. 98, 99.

² The duke of Somerset, after Katharine Parr's death, obtained a grant of the manor and palace of Marlborough, which had lately formed part of her dower as queen of England, and where there was an ancient royal palace.—*Strype*, vol. ii. p. 538. Chelsea palae was doomed to a rapid change of owners; for, on the attainder and death of Somerset, it was granted by the young king to the heir of Northumberland, as we find from the following entry in the *Augmentation Records*:—“Fifth year of Edward VI. All our manor of Chelsea, with all appurtenances, and all that capital mansion-house late parcel of the

hastened her death is not only without the slightest proof, but really opposed to the evidences of history.

The fatal termination of the queen's illness was not anticipated, even by her husband; and how great a shock it was to him may be gathered from the fact that in his first perplexity all his political plans were disarranged, and he wrote to the marquess of Dorset to send for lady Jane Gray, as he meant to dismiss his household. But before a month was over he wrote again to the marquess, saying, "By my last letters, written at a time when with the queen's highness's death I was so amazed that I had small regard either to myself or my doings, and partly then thinking that my great loss must presently have constrained me to have dissolved my whole house, I offered to send my lady Jane unto you whensoever ye would send for her." Having now more deeply considered the matter, says he, "he found he could continue his establishment, where shall remain, not only the gentlewomen of the queen's highness's privy-chamber, but also the maids which waited at large and other women who were about her in her lifetime, with an hundred and twenty gentlemen and yeomen." The ambition of lord admiral Seymour still projected placing a royal partner at the head of his establishment: at present, he invited his aged mother, lady Seymour, to superintend this vast household; and he concluded his letter to Dorset with the assurance, "that if he would restore lady Jane Gray as

possessions of Katharine, late queen of England, instead of Esher, granted to the earl of Warwick, son of the earl of Northumberland." These transfers remind us of Scipio's remark, when hereaved of the stolen crowns:—"Thus did brother Chrysostom's goods pass from one thief to another." After the attainder and death of Northumberland, the manor-house of Chelsea was granted by patent to John Caryll, who sold it to James Basset; yet, in the herald's order for the funeral of Anne of Cleves, who died there, July, 1557, it is described as crown property. Elizabeth, in the second year of her reign, granted it to the widowed duchess of Somerset, who lived there with her second husband, who was Master Newdigate, once the occasional tenant of Katharine Parr's second husband, at lord Latimer's town residence in the Charter-house. Lord Cheney afterwards lived in the palace, having become lord of the manor in the seventeenth century; whence the ground on which stood the palaces of queen Katharine Parr and the bishop of Winchester derived its present name of Cheyne row, not from the china-works, which has been vulgarly supposed. The old palace was finally purchased and pulled down by sir Hans Sloane.

his inmate, lady Seymour should treat her as if she were her daughter." After this letter Seymour came to Bradgate, "and," says lord Dorset, "he was so earnestly in hand with me and my wife, that he would have no 'nay;' so that we were contented for her to return to his house." At the same time and place he renewed the favorite project of the deceased queen and himself,—that Edward VI. should wed lady Jane Gray; adding, that if he could once get the king at liberty, this marriage should take place. Lady Jane was, in consequence of these representations, restored to the guardianship of lord admiral Seymour, and actually remained under his roof till his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower.

After the death of queen Katharine a deceitful message of condolence was sent to the lord admiral by the duchess of Somerset, who intimated "that if any grudge were borne by her to him, it was all for the late queen's cause; and now she was taken away by death, it would undoubtedly follow (unless the fault were in himself) that she, the duchess, would bear as good will to him as ever she did before." The lord admiral accepted the overture for a time, and paid his brother a visit, but soon after gave pretty evident proof that his enmity to Somerset and his party was far from being diminished by the death of Katharine Parr; indeed it amounted almost to insanity, after he was deprived of the restraining influence of her sound sense and prudent counsels. Queen Katharine's will was proved December 6, 1548;¹ after which the admiral fiercely pursued the suit for the restoration of the jewels and "stuff" which had been detained from his late royal consort by the protector and his council. So thoroughly persuaded was the widower of the justice of the claim, that he appealed to no meaner witness than the princess Mary, requiring her to testify whether the disputed jewels and furniture were a *bona fide* gift made by the deceased king her father to Katharine Parr, or only a loan. In his letter to the princess he says:—

¹ See the will extant in the Prerogative court.

"The queen's highness (whose soul God hath) did oftentimes in her lifetime declare unto me, upon occasion of talk between us of such jewels and other things as were kept from her possession by my lord my brother [Somerset]; she said, 'Your grace knew, and could testify, how and after what sort the king's majesty used to part with things to her; namely, those jewels which he delivered to her against the French admiral's¹ coming in.' And forasmuch as it may fortune a further communication will hereafter be had for the due trial of her title unto them, I do most humbly beseech your grace that it will please you to employ so much pains, at my poor request, as to make me some brief note of your knowledge in two or three lines, as to whether his majesty king Henry did *give* her highness [Katharine Parr] those jewels and other things that were delivered to her at the French admiral's coming in, and other times, both before and after; or else, whether he did but lend them for a time, to be returned home again after those triumphs finished, for which time and turn some few in number suppose they were only delivered. Assuring your grace that your opinion declared shall not only much satisfy me in this matter, but also bind me during my life to be at your grace's commandment, with anything that lieth in me."²

This application was made a little before Christmas. The princess Mary was too prudent to allow herself to be involved in the dispute, and merely, in her reply, bore testimony to the great love and affection that her late lord and father did bear unto her grace queen Katharine,—a testimony of some importance to the biographers of Katharine Parr, but not what Seymour required to establish his right to the contested articles.

Wightman, one of the admiral's servants, subsequently deposed that he was employed by him in copying letters to the keeper of St. James's palace, and others, requiring them to bear witness as to the fact whether the jewels were given to queen Katharine by king Henry, or only lent for the honor of the crown while she presided at the fêtes that were given at Hampton Court to the French ambassador, Claude d'Annebaut, who concluded the peace between England and France in 1546, as before related. Seymour made great search among queen Katharine's papers at her late royal residence at Hanworth, in the hope of finding some record affording decisive evidence of the gift. It is to be feared that among "the great sort of old papers belonging to the late queen Katharine," of which he spake to his servant Wightman, he recklessly destroyed, as useless, and

¹ Annebaut.

² Haynes's State-Papers.

perhaps dangerous, many a precious letter and record, not only of her queenly, but her early life, and of her first and second marriages.¹

The limits of this work will not admit of detailing the particulars of the intrigues which led to the fall of the lord admiral. Suffice it to say, that he had organized measures for supplanting his elder brother, the duke of Somerset, in the office of guardian to king Edward. The youthful majesty of England was actually brought before his own council, to be made a witness against his best-beloved uncle for the purpose of bringing him to the block. Edward confessed that the lord admiral had privily supplied him with sums of money, of which he had been kept destitute by the protector; and also that he had been accustomed to censure the proceedings of the protector, and to desire his removal. These words were from the lips of the princely boy:—"Within these two years, at least, the admiral lord Thomas Seymour said to me, 'Ye must take upon yourself to rule, for ye shall be able enough as well as other kings, and then ye may give your men somewhat; for your uncle Somerset is old, and, I trust, will not live long.' I answered, 'It were better he should die.'" ²

It is not unworthy of observation, that the marquess of Northampton, Katharine Parr's brother; her brother-in-law, Herbert earl of Pembroke; and her cousin, Nicholas Throckmorton, all remained the fast friends of the lord admiral after her death, which they would scarcely have done had they suspected him of unkindness to her, much less of hastening her death. The Throckmorton MS. thus mentions him:—

"But when my queen lay buried in her grave,
To Musselborough field I mourning went:
The gladsome victory to us God gave,
Home with those tidings I in haste was sent.

¹ It is supposed that many of queen Katharine Parr's letters to her brother the marquess of Northampton, and her sister the countess of Pembroke, perished in the great fire at Wilton.

² Haynes's State-Papers, p. 74.

"The admiral, my spokesman, was at home,
 Who stayed his nephew's safety to regard;
 He was at all essays my perfect friend,
 And patron too, unto his dying day.

"When men surmised that he would mount too high,
 And seek the *second time aloft to match*,
 Ambitious hearts did steer something too nigh,
 Off went his head, they made a quick despatch;

"But ever since I thought him sure a beast,¹
 That causeless labored to defile his nest.
 Thus, guiltless, *he* [Seymour] through malice went to pot,
 Not answering for himself, nor knowing cause."

It is more than probable that the charge of poisoning queen Katharine Parr was devised in order to induce the king, by whom she had been so fondly beloved, to sign the warrant for the execution of her unhappy husband. Seymour was far from submitting to death, like his contemporaries, with an approbative speech setting forth the justice of his sentence; he knew he had been doomed lawlessly, and he loudly proclaimed the fact on the scaffold. Before he laid his head on the block, he told an attendant of the lieutenant of the Tower to "bid his man speed the thing he wot of." This speech was overheard, and Seymour's servant was arrested, and threatened till he confessed that his master had obtained some ink in the Tower, and had plucked off an aglet from his dress, with the point of which he had written a letter to each of the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, which he had hidden within the sole of a velvet shoe.² The shoe was opened and the letters found, which were, as was natural, full of bitter complaints against his brother, and all who had caused his destruction. Latimer preached a very uncharitable funeral sermon for Seymour, in which he said "that it was evident God had clean forsaken him. Whether he be saved or not I leave it to God, but surely he was a wicked man, and the realm is well rid him."³

¹ Throckmorton goes on to blame Somerset severely for the death of his brother, and attributes his subsequent fate to retributive justice.

² Tytler's State-Papers. Lingard. Strype.

³ Latimer's Sermons, first edition.

Latimer accused lord Thomas Seymour, that when queen Katharine, his wife, had daily prayer morning and afternoon in his house, he would get him out of the way, and was a contemner of the Common Prayer. Among his misdeeds it was mentioned that a woman, in 1540, being executed for robbery, declared that the beginning of her evil life was being seduced and deserted by lord Thomas Seymour.¹ He made no religious profession on the scaffold, and, according to the account given in his funeral sermon, he died "irksomely, dangerously, and horribly." These accusations against the unfortunate husband of Katharine Parr, are somewhat softened by the religious and philosophic verses he was known to write the week before his death:—²

"Forgetting God to love a king
Hath been my rod, or else nothing
In this frail life, being a blast
Of care and strife till it be past;
Yet God did call me in my pride,
Lest I should fall and from him slide,
For whom he loves he must correct,
That they may be of his elect:
Then, Death! haste thee, thou shalt me gain,
Immortally with God to reign.
Lord send the king in years as Noë,
In governing this realm in joy;
And after this frail life such grace,
That in thy bliss he may find place."

Lord Seymour was beheaded on Tower hill, March 20, 1549. There was only an interval of two years, one month, and three weeks between the death of Katharine's third husband, king Henry VIII., and the execution of her fourth, who survived her just six months and fourteen days. The only child of queen Katharine and lord Seymour was named Mary. It is probable that lady Jane Gray was her god-mother, as she was at Sudely castle at the time of her birth, and acted as chief mourner at the funeral of her

¹ Strype, vol. ii. part i. p. 197.

² *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 328. Sir John Harrington the elder, who has preserved these verses, was the officer of lord Seymour, and cherished the utmost regard for his memory. He wrote a grand poetical portrait of his master.

royal mother. As the sole representative of both parents, the young Mary Seymour ought to have been the heiress of great wealth; and even if the act of attainder which had been passed on her father operated to deprive her of the broad lands of Sudely and the rest of his possessions, she was fully entitled to inherit the large fortune of the queen-dowager, her mother, if she had had friends to assert her rights. "This high-born infant lady," says Strype, "destitute already both of her mother, queen Katharine, and her lately executed father, remained a little while at her uncle Somerset's house at Sion; and then, according to her father's dying request, was conveyed to Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire, where Katharine dowager-duchess of Suffolk lived. There she was brought, with her governess Mrs. Aglionby, her nurse, two maids, and other servants, consonant to the high quality to which, for their own misery, her unfortunate parents had been advanced. Her uncle the duke of Somerset, upon her leaving Sion, promised that a certain pension should be settled upon her for her maintenance, and that a portion of her nursery plate and furniture brought to Sion house was to be sent after her when she went to Grimsthorpe." So the duchess of Somerset promised Mr. Bertie, a gentleman in the service of the duchess of Suffolk, whom that lady subsequently married, but these promises in behalf of the poor orphan were never fulfilled.¹

Katharine duchess of Suffolk had been honored with the friendship of the deceased queen, and through her favor and protecting influence had been preserved from the fiery persecution which had marked the closing years of Henry VIII.'s reign, when she was in more imminent peril than any one in the realm, since she had, by her cutting raillery, provoked the personal enmity of both Bonner and Gardiner. She held the same religious tenets as the late queen, whom she professed to regard as a saint, and it might have been expected that she would have cherished the orphan babe of her royal friend with not less than maternal tenderness. The impatience, however, with which she regarded

¹ Strype, vol. ii. p. 201.

the incumbrance and expense of the hapless little one who had become the unwelcome recipient of her charity is sufficiently apparent in the letters written by her to Cecil, of which the following may serve as a specimen :—

“TO MR. CECIL.¹

“It is said that the best means of remedy to the sick is first plainly to confess and disclose the disease wherefore lieth for remedy; and again, for that my disease is so strong that it will not be hidden, I will discover me unto you. First, I will (as it were under *Benedicite*, and in high secrecy) declare unto you that all the world knoweth, though I go never so covertly in my net, what a very beggar I am. This sickness, as I have said, I promise you increaseth mightily upon me. Amongst other causes whereof is, you will understand not the least, the queen's child hath lain, and yet doth lie, at my house, with her company about her, wholly at my charges. I have written to my lady Somerset at large, which was the letter I wrote (note this) with mine own hand unto you; and among other things for the child, that there may be some pension allotted unto her, according to my lord's grace's promise. Now, good Cecil, help at a pinch all that you may help. My lady also sent me word at Whitsuntide last, by *Bartue*,² that my lord's grace,³ at her suit, had granted certain nursery plate should be delivered with the child; and lest there might be stay for lack of a present bill [list] of such plate and stuff as was there in the nursery, I send you here enclosed of all parcels as were appointed out for the child's only use. And that ye may the better understand that I cry not before I am pricked, I send you mistress Eglonby's [governess] letter unto me, who, with the maids *nourice*, and others daily call on me for their wages, whose voices mine ears may hardly hear, but my coffers much worse. Wherefore I cease, and commit me and my sickness to your diligent care, with my hearty commendations to your wife. At my manor of Grymsthorpe, the 27th August.

“Your assured loving friend,

“K. SUFFOLK.”

This curious letter is indorsed thus :—

“To my loving friend, Mr. Cecil, attendant upon my lord protector's grace.”

“From my lady of Suffolk's grace to my Mr. —, concerning the queen's child nursed at her house at Grimsthorpe, with a bill of plate belonging to the nursery. Anno 2 Ed. VI.”

From the terms of the letter, it appears that even the paltry modicum in the list subjoined of the “good and stately gear,” which of right belonged to the neglected infant of queen Katharine Parr, was withheld by her rapacious uncle Somerset and his pitiless wife.

¹ Lansdowne MSS., No. ii., art. 16, edited by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*.

² This messenger was afterwards her husband, Richard Bertie.

³ Somerset.

Bill of all such Plate and other stuff as belongeth to the Nursery of the queen's child.

rst, 2 pots of silver, all white. *Item*, 3 goblets, silver, all white. One lver, parcel-gilt. A *maser* [wooden cup] with a band of silver, parcel- 11 spoons, silver, all white. *Item*, a quilt for the cradle, 3 pillows, and 1 stians. 3 feather beds, 3 quilts, 3 pair fustians. *Item*, a tester of scarlet, dered with a *counterpoint* [counterpane] of silk serge belonging to the and curtains of crimson taffeta. *Item*, 2 counterpoints of imagery for the 3 bed. *Item*, 6 pair of sheets of little worth. 6 fair pieces of hangings the inner chamber. 4 carpets for windows. 10 pieces of hangings of *elve months*,¹ within the outer chamber. *Item*, 2 oushions cloth-of-gold, chair of cloth-of-gold, 2 wrought stools and a bedstead gilt, with a tester unterpoint, with curtains belonging to the same."

fair hangings, and the embroidered scarlet tester and terpane, were doubtless wrought by the skilful hands e royal mother and her ladies in waiting, to adorn the tments and the cradle of the fondly expected babe, e birth cost her her life. How little did poor Kath- anticipate that before that child had completed its year of life it was to be deprived of both parents, plun- d of its princely inheritance, and even of the small ant of plate and tapestry belonging to its nursery ap- tments, and thrown a helpless burden on the sufferance forgetful friend! In the list of the little Mary Sey-'s effects is the following item:—

milch beasts, which were belonging to the nursery, the which it may your grace [Somerset] to *wite* [know] may be bestowed upon the two maids is their marriages, which shall be shortly. *Item*, one lute.²

even months after the date of this application, the per- ring duchess writes again to her friend Cecil, assuring that she had wearied herself with her letters to the pro- r and his lady on the same subject, and that she must 1 trouble him to press her suit to them both. "In these etters to my lady," she says, "I do put her in remem- ce for the performance of her promise touching some l pension for my kindness to the late queen's child, for with a dozen servants, living altogether at my charge, ontinuanee of which will not bring me out of my debt year. My lord marquess of Northampton, to whom I

pestry, with the rural occupations of the twelve months depicted on it. msdowne MS.

should deliver her, hath as bad a back for such a burden as I have. He would receive her, but not willingly if he must receive her train."¹ The conduct of the marquess of Northampton was even more heartless than that of the duchess of Suffolk towards his sister's orphan daughter, since he was the person who was by nature bound to cherish and protect her person, and to vindicate her right to inherit the possessions of her deceased parents; but he, having obtained for himself a grant of a portion of his infant niece's patrimony,² was unwilling to give her and her attendants a home. The brother of Katharine Parr and the duchess of Suffolk zealously united in editing and publishing the devotional writings of that queen, though they grudged a shelter and food to her only child.

The destitution of the unoffending infant of queen Katharine was completed by an act of parliament, entitled "An act for disinheriting Mary Seymour, daughter and heir of the late lord Sudely, admiral of England, and the late queen."³ Another act, *for the restitution* of Mary Seymour, passed January 21, 1549, 3 Edward VI.;⁴ yet we find her uncle retained possession of Sudely. The historical records connected with queen Katharine's only child close with this act. Her aunt, the learned Anne countess of Pembroke,⁵ the only sister of Katharine Parr, died in the year 1551 at Baynard's castle, so that the little lady Mary Seymour could not have found a home with her; and whether she were actually transferred to her unwilling uncle the marquess of Northampton, or remained, which is more probable, under the care of the duchess of Suffolk, is not known. Strype says she died young. Lodge affirms, but on what

¹ Unpublished MS., State-Paper office, Edward VI., dated July 24, 1549.

² On the attainder of Thomas Seymour, lord Sudely, the manor of Sudely was granted to William marquess of Northampton, and on his attainder by queen Mary, to lord Chandos; from thence, by a marriage and heirship, down to lord Rivers of Strathfieldsaye; and the circumference of the castle was bought, about A.D. 1826, by the duke of Buckingham and Chandos. It is now the property of Mr. Dent.

³ Drake's Parliamentary History. Burnet.

⁴ Journals of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 15.

⁵ Her portrait, and that of her lord, painted on glass, is, or was lately, extant in the chapel of Wilton. The present earl of Pembroke is her descendant.

urity he does not state, "that the only child of the
 ral lord Thomas Seymour by queen Katharine Parr
 in her thirteenth year." There is, however, more
 n to believe that she lived to be a wife and mother.
 statements with which I have been favored by Johnson
 son, Esq., of Grove Villa, Clevedon, and his brother
 y Lawson, Esq., of Hereford, the sons of the late very
 end Johnson Lawson, dean of Battle, in Sussex, vicar
 rowley and rector of Cranbrook in Kent, afford, at
 ate, presumptive evidence that they derive their de-
 from this lady. The authentic records of this fact
 ar to have been destroyed among a mass of interesting
 ological papers that were in the possession of a clergy-
 of the Lawson family, and on his death were consigned
 e flames by his widow, "as she had no children to give
 to," she said. One precious MS. fragment of the pedi-
 had, however, fortunately escaped the notice of this
 utive dame, who would certainly have been branded
 athony à Wood with the epithet of "a clownish woman,"
 it contains a family record of the marriage and pos-
 of the daughter of Katharine Parr.

*of MS. fragment, entitled "A good account of my Pedigree, given me by
 my Grandmother, July 26, 1749."*

ul Johnson, a gentleman of good family and estate, residing at his man-
 Fordwich in the county of Kent, also having another named Nethercourt
 Isle of Thanet, married Margaret Heyman (of the baronet's family of
 nd Norfolk).

air son, *Sylas Johnson*, married the daughter of sir Edward Bushel,¹
 d married the only daughter of the duke of Somerset's younger brother,
 ymour, which daughter the lord Seymour had by queen Katharine Parr,
 ie married after the death of Harry the Eighth, whose queen she was.
 ove sir Edward Bushel's daughter was a great fortune to Silas Johnson ;
 air daughter, *Mary Johnson*, married the Rev. Francis Drayton, of Little-
 n Kent, where he and his wife lie buried."—From that marriage the
 of the pedigree, down to Lawson, are very clear and certain, and need
 then this statement.

ether from any records, or knowledge, or tradition,
 d grandmother declared the marriage of Katharine's

1 Bushels were a very ancient and honorable family, and sir Edward
 probably the same person referred to in the Lawson pedigree, was a
 an of the household to Anne of Denmark, the queen of James I., and,
 ne other knights, assisted in bearing her body to the grave.

daughter to sir Edward Bushel, it is impossible now to say; but it seems that Silas Johnson, by his marriage with their daughter Mary Bushel, obtained a great fortune, together with some relics of Katharine Parr's personal property, which have continued in the Lawson family, their descendants, ever since. They are thus described by Johnson Lawson, Esq., in whose possession they are at present:—"A fine damask napkin, which evidently was made for, and brought from Spain by, Katharine of Arragon, the first queen of Henry VIII. The beautiful pattern therein exhibits the spread eagle, with the motto PLUS OULTRE four times; and on the dress of four men blowing trumpets, attired in the Spanish garb as matadors, are the letters K. I. P. [probably Katharine Infanta Princess]; and this napkin, in the palace of Henry VIII., must have passed through the hands of *six queens*, including Katharine Parr. The second relic is the royal arms of king Henry, engraved on copper in cameo, which were set in the centre of a large pewter dish: the table service, in those times, was usually pewter."

In the absence of those *bonâ fide* vouchers of the marriage of the young lady Mary Seymour which have been destroyed by time, by accident, or wanton ignorance, it may be conjectured that the duchess of Suffolk, after her marriage with Richard Bertie, and her subsequent flight from the Marian persecution, provided for her youthful *protégé* by an honorable marriage with sir Edward Bushel, though certainly much beneath the alliances which would have courted her acceptance had she not been wrongfully deprived of the great wealth she ought to have inherited as the only child of queen Katharine Parr. The Lawsons, who claim their descent from the daughter of Katharine Parr, are a branch of the ancient family of the Lawsons of Yorkshire and Westmoreland, and bear the same arms.

Queen Katharine Parr was originally interred on the north side of the altar of the then splendid chapel of Sudely, and a mural tablet of sculptured alabaster was placed above her tomb. The chapel is now despoiled and in ruins, the roofless walls alone remaining. The notice of

On Katharine's death and interment from the document in the Herald's office having been published in Rudde's History of Gloucestershire, some ladies, who happened to visit Sudely castle in May, 1782, determined to examine the ruined chapel. Observing a large block of alabaster in the north wall of the chapel, they imagined that it might be the back of a monument that had once been fixed there. Led by this hint they had the ground opened not far from there, and about a foot from the surface they found a leaden envelope which they opened in two places,—on the face and breast, and found it to contain a human body wrapped in cere-cloth. Upon removing the portion that covered the face, they discovered the features, particularly the eyes, in the most perfect state of preservation. Alarmed at this sight, and with the smell which came from the cloth, they ordered the earth to be thrown in immediately, without closing over the cere-cloth and lead that covered the face, only observing enough of the inscription to convince them it was the body of queen Katharine.¹ In the same summer, Mr. John Lucas, the person who rented the house and on which the ruins of the chapel stand, removed the earth from the leaden coffin, which lay at the depth of six or seven feet, or a little more, below the surface. On the inside appeared an inscription, of which the following is a true copy:—

K. P.
 Here lyeth Quene
 Katharine with wife to Kyng
 Henry the viiith And
 after the wif of Thomas
 lord of Suddeley high
 Admyrall of England
 And vncle to Kyng
 Edward the vi.
 She died
 September
 MCCCC
 XLVIIJ.

Mr. Lucas had the curiosity to rip up the top of the coffin, and found the whole body, wrapped in six or seven linen

¹ Archæologia.

cere-cloths, entire and uncorrupted, although it had been buried upwards of two centuries and a half. He made an incision through the cere-cloths which covered one of the arms of the corpse, the flesh of which at that time was white and moist.¹ The perfect state in which the body of queen Katharine Parr was found affords a convincing evidence that her death was not occasioned by poison; for in that case almost immediate decomposition would have taken place, rendering the process of embalming ineffectual, if not impracticable. The repose of the buried queen was again rudely violated by ruffian hands in the spring of 1784, when the royal remains were taken out of the coffin and irreverently thrown on a heap of rubbish and exposed to public view. An ancient woman, who was present on that occasion, assured my friend Miss Jane Porter, some years afterwards, that the remains of costly burial clothes were on the body,—not a shroud, but a dress, as if in life; shoes were on the feet, which were very small, and all her proportions extremely delicate, and she particularly noticed that traces of beauty were still perceptible in her countenance, of which the features were at that time perfect, but by exposure to the air, and other injurious treatment, the process of decay rapidly commenced. Through the interference of the vicar the body was reinterred. In October, 1786, a scientific exhumation was made by the Rev. Tredway Nash, F.A.S., and his interesting and valuable report has been published in the *Archæologia*,² from which the following abstract is given:—"In 1786, October 14th, having obtained leave of lord Rivers, the owner of Sudely castle, with the Hon. J. Somers Cocks the writer proceeded to examine the chapel. Upon opening the ground, and tearing up the lead, the face was found totally decayed; the teeth, which were sound, had fallen. The body was perfect, but, out of delicacy, it was not uncovered. Her hands and nails were entire, of a brownish color. The queen must have

¹ Rudde's Hist.-of Gloucestershire. *Archæologia*.

² In vol. ix. of *Archæologia*, 1787, being the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries, with a plate of the exterior of the beautiful chapel when perfect, and of the encased body, with a fac-simile of the inscription on the lead.

of low stature, as the lead that enclosed her corpse was five feet four inches long. The cere-cloth consisted of many folds of linen, dipped in wax, tar, and gums, and adapted exactly to the shape of the body. It seems, it is extraordinary that she should be buried so near the surface; but we should consider that the pavement, and perhaps some earth, had been taken away since she was interred. As she was buried within the communion probably the ground was three feet higher than the floor of the chapel. I could heartily wish more respect were paid to the remains of this amiable queen, and would willingly with proper leave, have them wrapped in another sheet of lead and coffin, and decently interred in another place that at least her body might rest in peace; whereas, the chapel where she now lies is used for the keeping of bones, which make holes, and scratch very irreverently the royal corpse."

At the last time the coffin of queen Katharine Parr was opened, it was discovered that a wreath of ivy had entwined itself round the temples of the royal corpse, a berry having fallen there and taken root at the time of her pre-exhumation, and there had silently, from day to day, put itself into this green sepulchral coronal. A lock of hair which was taken from the head of queen Katharine after it had lain in the dust and darkness of the tomb for nearly two centuries and a half, was kindly sent for inspection by Mrs. Constable Maxwell. It was of fine site quality and color, exactly resembling threads of spun gold in its hue; it was very fine, and with an inclination to curl naturally.¹ After recording these indignant complaints of the outrages and neglect to which the remains of our first Protestant queen were exposed in the apathetic eighteenth century, I am happy to be able to add that, having, in July, 1848, enjoyed the opportunity

Since the three previous editions of this work have been published, I am proud to boast myself of being the possessor of one of these golden ringlets of the queen's head, which was most courteously presented to me in a handsome locket by Thomas Turner, Esq., of Gloucester, during my visit to that hospitable city, in 1848.—A. S.

of making an historical pilgrimage to the spot, I can bear honorable testimony to the care taken by the present proprietors of the Sudely castle domain, Messrs. John and William Dent, to guard the grave of queen Katharine Parr from desecration, and to preserve the ruins of the beautiful old chapel from further decay. A portion of the grand old castle itself has been restored by the same worthy gentlemen, who are sparing neither trouble nor expense to fit up that part of the building, not only in the Tudor style, but with veritable Tudor furniture and decorations, paintings, and carvings. Some of the most interesting of the Strawberry hill relics of the Henrican era, Holbein portraits and miniatures, and many other 'auld knick-knackets,' are assembled in those venerable walls as if by magic,—the magic which performs all wonders in the nineteenth century.

It is difficult to dismiss the subject of Katharine Parr without repeating that some mark of consideration and grateful respect is due, in the shape of a national monument, to the memory of this illustrious English-born queen, to whom the church of England owes the preservation of the university of Cambridge.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME V

	PAGE
QUEEN ANNE OF CLEVES	<i>Fronts.</i>
LADY JANE SEYMOUR	128
HENRY VIII	176
HENRY VIII AND THE BARBER-SURGEONS	224
THOMAS CRANMER	256

